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HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—Vol. III.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK IV.—*continued.*

CHAPTER XI.

Pepin, King of France.

BUT whatever might have been the result of the negotiations between the Pope and Charles Martel, they were interrupted by the death of the two contracting parties. Charles Martel and Gregory III. died within a month of each other.*

Zacharias, a Greek, succeeded to Gregory III. At his election even the form of obtaining the consent of the Exarch, as representative of the Eastern emperor, was discarded for ever. The death of Charles Martel, which weakened his power by dividing it between his sons Carloman and Pepin, left the Pope at the mercy of Liutprand. The exarchate, the Roman territory, Rome itself, was utterly defenceless against the Lombard, exasperated, as he might justly be, at this attempt to mingle up a Transalpine power in the affairs of Italy. At the time of Gregory's death there seems to have been a suspension of hostilities, attributed,

* Baronius inclines to the damnation of Charles; at least, ascribes his death to his tardiness in not marching to the Pope's succour. How came the

Pope also to die at this critical time? Charles Martel died A.D. 741, Oct. 21 Gregory III., Nov. 27.

though with no historical authority, to the remonstrances or menaces of Charles Martel. But now the terror even of the name of Charles was withdrawn, and the Pope had no protection but in the sanctity of his office. He sent an embassy to Liutprand, who received it with courtesy and respect, granted advantageous terms of peace to the dukedom or territory of Rome, and promised to restore Ameria and the other cities which he had seized, to the Roman territory. Liutprand inexorably demanded that the Pope should abandon the cause of the rebellious Duke of Spoleto. Thrasimund was compelled to submit: he was deposed, and retired into a monastery. Liutprand appointed a more obedient vassal, his own nephew, a dangerous neighbour to Rome, to the dukedom. But Liutprand delayed the restoration of the four cities: his armies still occupied the midland regions of Italy.

The independence of Rome was on the hazard: Italy was again on the verge of becoming a Lombard kingdom. The future destinies of Europe were trembling in the balance. Had the whole of Italy, at least to the borders of Naples (Naples, and even Sicily, could easily have been wrested from the Greek empire), been consolidated under one hereditary rule, and had the Pope sunk back to his spiritual functions, Pepin and his more powerful successor, Charlemagne, might not have been invited into Italy as protectors of the liberties and religion of Rome.

The course of Lombard conquest was arrested by the personal weight and sacerdotal awe which environed the Pope. Since the time of Leo the Great, no Pontiff placed such bold reliance on his priestly character and on himself as Zacharias. Other Popes had not mingled in the active life of man with man. They had officiated

in the churches, presided in councils of ecclesiastics, issued decrees, administered their temporal affairs through their officers or legates. Zacharias seemed to delight in encountering his most dangerous enemies face to face: he was his own ambassador. Zacharias no doubt knew the character of the Lombard king. With all his ambition and warlike activity, Liutprand, if we are to believe the Lombard historian, blended the love of peace and profound piety. He was renowned for his chastity, his fervency in prayer, his liberality in almsgiving. He was illiterate, yet to be equalled with the sagest philosophers.^b The strength and the weakness of such a character were equally open to impressions from the apostolic majesty, perhaps the apostolic gentleness, of the head of Christendom.

The spiritual potentate set forth in his peaceful array, surrounded by his court of bishops, to the camp of Liutprand near Terni. He was met at Cortona by Grimoald, an officer of Liutprand's court, conducted first to Narni, afterwards with great pomp, accompanied by part of the army and by the Lombard nobility, to Terni.^c The scene of the interview was a church—that of St. Valentine; the Pope thus availing himself of the awfulness by which a religious mind like that of Liutprand would in such a place be already half prostrated before his holy antagonist. There he would listen with deeper emotion to the appalling admonitions of the pontiff on the vanity of earthly grandeur. The Lombard was reminded of the strict, it might be speedy, account which he was to give to God in whose presence he stood, of all the blood

Interview
with Liut-
prand at
Terni.
A.D. 742.

^b "Castus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidam ingenuus, sed philosophis æquandus."—Paul. Diae.

^c Anastas. in Vit. Zachariæ

which he had shed in war. He was threatened with eternal damnation if he delayed to surrender the four cities, according to his stipulations.

The issue of such a contest could not be doubtful.

Treaty of
Peace.

The appalled Barbarian yielded at once. He declared that he restored the four cities to St. Peter. His generous piety knew no bounds. He gave back all the estates of the Church in the Sabine country, which the Lombards had held for thirty years—Narni, Osimo, Ancona, and towns in the district of Sutri—released unransomed all the Roman prisoners taken in the war, and concluded a peace for twenty years with the Dukedom of Rome. The treaty was ratified by a solemn service, at which the Pope (the bishopric of Terni being vacant) officiated; the pious king, the officers of his court and army, attended in submissive reverence. The Pope then entertained him with a great banquet,^d and returned to Rome. The deliverer of the city from a foreign yoke was received with a religious ovation, as well deserved as one of the Triumphs of older days. The procession passed from the ancient Pantheon, now the church of St. Mary ad Martyres, to St. Peter's.

Yet beyond the immediate circle of the pontiff's magic influence, Liutprand could not resist the temptation offered by the wreck of the defenceless exarchate. Though, according to his treaty with the Pope, he respected the territory of Rome, he suddenly surprised Cesena, and announced his determination to subdue the rest of the exarchate. Ravenna already beheld the formidable conqueror before her walls. The only

^d "Ubi cum tantâ suavitâte esum sumpsit, et cum tantâ hilaritâte cordis, ut diceret rex tantum se nunquam meminisse comessatum."—Vit. Zachar.

refuge was in the unarmed Pope. Eutychius the Exarch, the archbishop, the people of the city and of the province joined in an earnest petition for the intervention of the pontiff. Zacharias espoused their cause, he sent an embassy to Pavia to dissuade Liutprand from further aggression, and to request the restoration of Cesena. The Lombard refused to receive the ambassadors. The unbaffled Pope determined once more to try the effect of his personal presence: he set forth in state towards Pavia. The importance Second interview at Pavia. A.D. 743. attached to this journey is attested by the miracles with which it was invested. A cloud, by the special interposition of St. Peter, hovered constantly over the sacred band, to shield them from the violent heats, till they pitched their tents in the evening. At some distance from Ravenna he was met by the Exarch; and, still overshadowed by the faithful cloud, which poised itself at length over one of the churches, he entered the city. He left it followed by the whole population, men and women, in tears, praying for the good pastor who had left his own flock for their protection. A new sign, like a fiery army in the heavens, marshalled him on his way towards Pavia. But he derived greater advantage from other guidance. He had sent forward some of his attendants to Imola, on the Lombard border, from whom he received intelligence of orders issued to stop him on his march. The Pope made a rapid journey and reached the Po. On the banks he was met by some of the Lombard nobles, whom the king, having in vain attempted to elude the reception of the embassy, sent to receive him with due honours. After the arrival at Pavia, a few days were passed in religious ceremonies, at which the king attended with his wonted devotion. It was St. Peter's day; a day happily chosen for the

august ceremony. At length Liutprand consented to admit the pontiff to an interview in his palace.

June 29.

After long and resolute resistance on the king's part, Zacharias extorted the abandonment of his ambitious designs on the exarchate, the restoration of two-thirds of the territory of Cesena.

Thus for a short time longer the wreck of the imperial dominion in Italy was preserved by the sole influence, the religious eloquence and authority, of the unarmed Bishop of Rome. But such was the power of religion in those times, that not merely did it enable the clergy to dictate their policy to armed and powerful sovereigns, to arrest Barbarian invasion, and to snatch, as it were, conquests already in their rapacious hands; in every quarter of Western Europe kings were seen abdicating their thrones, placing themselves at the feet of the Pope as humble penitents, casting off their pomp, and submitting to the privations and the discipline of monks.

Kings
become
monks.

It has been related that when Columban, some years before, endeavoured to persuade the Merovingian Theodebert to abandon his throne and become an ecclesiastic, the whole assembly broke out into scornful laughter.* "Was it ever heard that a Merovingian king had degraded himself into a priest?" The saint had replied, "He who disdains to become an ecclesiastic will become so against his will." The times had rapidly changed. From all parts of Western Christendom kings were coming, lowly penitents, to Rome, to lay aside the vain pomp of royalty, to assume the coarse attire, the total seclusion, and, as they hoped, the undisturbed and

* "Dicebant enim nunquam se audivisse Merovingum in regno sublimitatum voluntarium clericum fuisse. Detestantibus ergo omnibus."—Vit. Columbani.

heaven-winning peace of the cloister. Ceolwulf is said to have been the eighth Anglo-Saxon prince who became a monk. Now, within a few years, from the thrones of France and of Lombardy, the kings descended of their own accord, laid their temporal government down before the head of Christendom, and entreated permission to devote the rest of their lives to the spiritual state.

Carloman, the elder son of Charles Martel, had commenced his reign with vigour, ability, and success. On a sudden he cast off at once the duties and the dignity of his station,^f and surrendered to Pepin, his brother, the power and all the ambitious hopes of his family. Carloman left his country, appeared in Italy, humbly requested to be admitted into the monastic state, built a monastery on Mount Soracte, but finding that too near to Rome, retired to the more profound seclusion of Monte Casino. In that solitude the heir of Charles Martel hoped to pass the rest of his earthly days.^g

Carloman.
A.D. 747.

But Pope Zacharias beheld even a greater triumph of the faith. A Lombard king suddenly paused on the full tide of ambition and success, and from a deadly and formidable enemy of the Pope and of the Roman interest, became a peaceful monk.^h

During the year of his last interview with Pope

^f Carloman had been preceded in this course by Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine, who having treacherously lured his brother Atto from the strong city of Poitiers, blinded him, and a few days after shut himself up in a monastery in the isle of Rhé.—H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 301. Hunald, however, on the death of his

son, twenty-five years afterwards, scandalised Christendom by returning to the world, and resuming not only his dominions, but his wife also.—Muratori, *Ann. d'Italia*, sub ann. 747.

^g Vit. Zachariæ. *Chronic. Moissac*. apud Pertz, i. 292.

^h Pauli i. *Epist. ad Pepin. Regem*. —Muratori, *R. I. Scrip.* iii. 11. 116.

Zacharias had died Liutprand, the ablest and mightiest of the Lombard kings. Notwithstanding his Death of Liutprand. A.D. 743. pious deference for the Pope, his munificent ecclesiastical foundations in all parts of his dominions, the papal biographer attributes his death to the prayers of the Pope and the direct intervention of St. Peter.ⁱ The burthen of ingratitude need not be laid on the Pope on account of the mature death of a sovereign who had reigned for thirty years. Dur- A.D. 713-743. ing a dangerous illness of Liutprand, nine years before, his nephew Hildebrand had been associated with him in the kingdom. After seven months of his sole dominion Hildebrand was deposed by the unanimous suffrage of the nation, and Rachis, Duke of Friuli, was raised to the throne. The first act of Rachis was to confirm the peace of twenty years with the Pope. The truce with the exarchate expired in the fifth year of his reign. But suddenly, incensed by some unknown cause of offence, or in a fit of ambition, Rachis appeared in arms, broke into the exarchate, and invested Perugia. The indefatigable Pope delayed not his interference. Again he was his own ambassador, and appeared in the camp of the Lombard king.^k But he was not content with compelling King Rachis to break up the siege; he pressed him so strongly with his saintly arguments, perhaps with the holy example of Carloman, that in a few days the king stood before the gates of Rome with his wife and daughter, having abdicated his throne, an humble suppliant for admission into the

A.D. 749.
Rachis.

Rachis a
monk.

Anastasius in Zacharia.

^k Chronic. Salernit. i. 1; apud regi plurimis muneribus, atque . . . deprecans." See also account of con-
Murator, i. 2. "Impensis eidem version of King Rachis.

cloister. He too retired to Monte Casino, which thus boasted of two royal recluses. His wife and daughter entered the neighbouring convent of A.D. 749. Piombaruola. Carloman will appear again, somewhat unexpectedly, on the scene of political life.

The last act in the eventful pontificate of Zacharias was the most pregnant with important results to Latin Christendom, the transference of the A.D. 751. crown of France from the Merovingian line to the father of Charlemagne, with the sanction, it has been asserted, under the direct authority, Pepin, king of France. of the Pope. To the Church and to Western Europe it is difficult to estimate all the consequences of the elevation of the Carolingian dynasty.

The Pope has been accused of assuming an unwarranted power in virtually, as it were, by his sanction of Pepin's coronation, absolving the subjects of Childeric from their allegiance; of want of stern principle in countenancing the violation of the great law of hereditary succession, and the rebellious ambition of the Mayor of the Palace, who thus degraded his lawful sovereign and usurped his throne. This is to confound the laws and usages of different ages. Hereditary succession among the Teutonic races had not yet attained that sanctity in which, in later times, it has been invested by supposed religious authority, and by the rational persuasion of its inestimable advantage. In theory it was admitted in the Roman empire; but the perpetual change of dynasty at Constantinople was not calculated to confirm the general reverence for its inviolability. Among the Lombards, as in most of the Gothic kingdoms, the nobles claimed and constantly exercised the privilege of throwing off the yoke of an unworthy prince, and advancing a more warlike or able

chieftain, usually of the royal race, to the throne. The degradation of the successor to Liutprand, the accession of Rachis, were yet fresh in the memory of man. The Teutonic sovereign was still in theory the leader of an army; when he ceased to exercise his primary functions he had almost abdicated his state. It is difficult to conceive how such a shadow of a monarch had been so long permitted to rule over an enterprising and turbulent nation like the Franks. He was more like the Lama of an old, decrepit, Asiatic theocracy than the head of a young and conquering people. He sat on a throne with long hair and a flowing beard (these were the signs of royalty, worn indiscriminately whether he was young or old), he received ambassadors, and gave the answers put into his mouth: he had no domain but one small city, whose revenues hardly maintained his scanty retinue. In the spring alone, at the opening of the Champ de Mars, the idol was drawn forth from his sanctuary and offered to the sight of the people. He was slowly conveyed in a car drawn by oxen through the ranks of his wondering subjects, and was then consigned again to his secluded state.^m For two or three generations the effete Merovingian race had acquiesced in this despicable inactivity, and made no effort to break forth from the ignominious pomp in which they slumbered away their lives.

There are no details of this signal revolution.ⁿ Pepin sent two ecclesiastics, Burchard, Bishop of Wurtzburg, and Fulrad his chaplain, to consult the Pope, but

^m "Crine profuso, barbâ submissâ . . . quocunque eundum erat, carpento ibat, bubulis rustico more agente trahebatur."—Eginhard, c. 1. Compare Michelet, Hist. de France. Egin-

hard may perhaps have exaggerated the absolute and ostentatious insignificance of the dethroned Merovingian.

ⁿ Eginhard, Ann. sub ann. 750, 751

it appears not whether to relieve his conscience or as to a judge of recognised authority. A less decided pontiff than Zacharias might think the nation justified in its weariness of that hypocrisy which assigned to a secluded, imbecile pageant the name and ensigns of royalty, while its power was possessed by his Mayor of the Palace. It was time to put an end to this poor comedy of monarchy. Even if he took a higher view of his own power, there was full precedent in that which had long been the code of hierarchical privilege, the Old Testament, for the interference of the Priest, of God's representative on earth, in the deposition of unworthy kings, in the elevation of new dynasties.^a It was indeed to usurp authority over a foreign kingdom, but what kingdom was foreign to the head of Christendom? The retirement of the deposed Childeric into a monastery made but little change in his life; he was spared the fatigue and mockery of a public exhibition. The election of Pepin at Soissons was conducted according to the old usage of the Franks, the acclamation and clash of arms of the nobles and of the people, the elevation on the buckler; but it had

A.D. 751.

March,
A.D. 752.

* "Et Zacharias Papa mandavit Pepino, ut melius esset illum regem vocari, qui potestatem haberet, quam illum, qui sine regali potestate manebat, ut non conturbaretur ordo."—Annal. Franc. apud Duchesne. Compare the Gesta Francorum, where it is more fully stated (Bouquet, p. 38). This passage is quoted in Lehnerou (Histoire des Institutions Carolingiens, p. 99): "Gens Merovingorum, de quâ Franci reges sibi creare soliti erant, usque in Hildericum regem, qui jussu Stephani, Romani Pontificis,

depositus ac detonsus atque in monasterium trusus est, durâsse putatur. Quæ licet in illo finita possit videri, tamen jamdudum nullius vigoris erat, nec quicquam in se clarum præter inane regis vocabulum præferebat, nam et opes et potentia regni penes palatii præfectos, qui majores domus dicebantur et ad quos summa imperii pertinebat, tenebantur . . . Qui honor non aliis a populo dari consueverat quam qui his et claritate generis et opum amplitudine cæteris eminebant."—Eginhard, Vit. Kar., iii. 1.

now a new religious character, which marked the growing power of the clergy. The bishops stood around the throne, as of equal rank with the armed nobles. The Jewish ceremony of anointing was first introduced to sanctify a king perhaps of still somewhat doubtful title. The holy oil was poured on his head by the saintly archbishop of Mentz.^p Two years after, on the visit of Pope Stephen, this ceremony was renewed by the august head of Christendom. King Childeric was shaven and dismissed into a monastery, the retreat or the prison of all weary or troublesome princes.^q

Little foresaw Pepin, little foresaw Zacharias, or his successor Stephen, the effects of the precedent which they were furnishing in the contemptuous dismissal of the poor foolish Childeric from the throne of his ancestors, and the sanction of the Pope to this it might seem almost insignificant act: that successors of Zacharias would assert that the kings of France, or rather the emperors, the successors of Charlemagne, held their crown only by the authority of the Pope; that the Pope might transfer that allegiance, to which the only title was the papal sanction, to a more loyal son of the Church.

In every respect, whether he contemplated the remote or the immediate interests of the Church or of Chris-

^p Clovis had also been *anointed* by S. Remi: "Elegi baptizari . . . et per ejusdem sacri chrismatis unctionem ordinato in regem . . . statuo." If he fails in his engagements "fiant dies ejus pauci, et principatum ejus accipiat alter."—Testament. S. Remig. ap. Flodoard. On the sacred character conferred by the holy unction, see *Adlocutio duorum Episcoporum in eccles. S. Medard, A.D. 806.*—Bouquet.

According to the bishops, it gave the same right as that divinely bestowed on the kings of Israel. "Ainsi, par une reciprocité ordinaire dans les affaires humaines, le sucre, en donnant un titre, a imposé une sujétion; et de cette équivoque naîtra un jour le plus grand problème du moyen âge, la guerre du sacerdoce et de l'empire."—Lehuerou, p. 330. • •

^q Uzinhard, *loc. cit.*

tianity, the Pope might hail with unmitigated satisfaction and hope the accession of Pepin. The whole race, since the alliance with Charles Martel, had been devoted to the Church and to the see of Rome. The prescient sagacity of Zacharias might discern in Astolph, the new king of the Lombards, that he inherited all the ambition without the strong religious feeling of his predecessors. Rome might speedily need a powerful Transalpine protector.

Nor could the Pope be blind to the pride, the ambition, the duty of establishing his own jurisdiction on a firmer basis beyond the Alps. In the German part of the Frankish kingdom, and in Germany itself, had now arisen a new clergy; if more devoted to the Pope, unquestionably of far higher Christian character than the degenerate hierarchy of France. They began as the humblest yet most enterprising missionaries, daily perilling their lives for the faith, and bringing gradually tribes of Barbarians within the pale of Christendom; they had become prelates of large sees, abbots of flourishing monasteries. But all this aggression on paganism, all these conquests of Christianity and civilisation in the forests and morasses of Germany, had been made by men commissioned by Rome, and in strict subserviency to her discipline. Not even the jarring discrepancy between what Boniface and his followers saw and heard of the lives of Christian prelates in Rome, the venality of the public proceedings, and all which was strange to his lofty ideal of the faith, could in the least shake their conscientious devotion to the See of St. Peter.

To judge from the reports of these holy men, the monarchy itself was not more utterly effete and depraved than the old established clergy of France, which had

boasted, in the century before, a hierarchy of saints. With due allowance for the rigidly monastic and celibate notions of Boniface and his disciples, which would induce them to condemn the marriage of the clergy as sternly as the loosest concubinage, there can be no doubt that the Frankish clergy were in general sunk low in character as in estimation.* Boniface, well informed, doubtless, of what he might expect to find, demands authority of the Pope to punish by summary degradation the incredible profligacy, especially of the lower ecclesiastics; as well as to interdict the unchristian occupations of the soldier-bishops, who indulged all the license of the camp—drunkenness, gambling, and quarrelling; and all the ferocity of the field of battle, even bloodshed, whether that of Pagans or Christians.⁵

All the energy at least, the high principle, the pure morality, all the Christianity of the time, might seem centred in these missionaries and in their followers; and this clergy at once so much more papal, and of so much

* Archbishop Boniface, it is said, Archbishop of Mentz by papal authority (*miasus S. Petri*), was set by Charles Martel over a synod, of which the object was to restore the law of God and the religion of the Church, which had gone to ruin under former kings, “*quæ in diebus præteritorum principum corruit*.”—Epist. Boniface. Ellendorf, *die Karolinger*, i. p. 83. Carloman and his brother Pepin had followed the example of their father Charles Martel in supporting with all their power these better Christian ecclesiastics; they not only befriended them in their conversion of the Pagans, but in the correction of their own clergy.

* Bonifac. Epist., with the permission to hold the Synod, and the reply of Pope Zacharias.—Labbe, *Concil.*, p. 1495. He speaks of those who “*in diaconatu concubinas quatuor vel quinque vel plures noctu in lectulo habentes*,” nevertheless dared to perform their sacred offices, and were promoted to the priesthood, even to episcopacy. He proceeds: “*Et inveniantur quidam inter eos episcopi. qui licet dicunt se fornicarios vel adulteros non esse, sunt tamen ebriosi, et injuriosi, vel pugnatores; et qui pugnant in exercitu armati, et effundunt propriâ manu sanguinem hominum sive infidelium, sive Christianorum*.”

higher character, was that of the new Carlovingian kingdom, a kingdom of Germany^t rather than of Gaul. This clergy, the ancestors of Pepin, and Pepin himself, had always treated with the utmost respect and deference." Boniface, in truth, as Papal Legate, or under the authority of Pepin, had early assumed the power of a primate of Gaul, consecrated three archbishops, of Rouen, and Sens, and Rheims. The last see was occupied by a soldier-prelate, named Milo, archbishop at once of Rheims and of Treves, who resisted for ten years all attempts to dispossess him; at the end of that time he was killed by a wild boar.

King Pepin was himself an Austrasian, the vast estates of his family lay on the Rhine. The accession of his house Teutonised more completely, till the division among the sons of Charlemagne, the whole Frankish monarchy.

Pope Zacharias did not live to behold the fulfilment of his great designs. He died in the same year on which Pepin became king of France. The election fell on a certain presbyter, named Stephen; but the third day after, before his consecration, he was seized with a fit, and died the following day. He is not reckoned in the line of popes. Another Stephen, chosen immediately on his death, is usually called the second of that name.

The first act of Stephen's pontificate was to guard against the threatened aggressions of the Lombards. Already had Astolph, a prince as daring but less religious than Liutprand, entered the Exarchate, and seized Ravenna. The ambassadors of the Pope were received

^t Compare Guizot, Essai iii.

^u Pope Zacharias writes to Boniface:
"Quod (Carlomanus et Pepinus) tuæ

prædicationis socii et adiutores essent
niterentur ex divina inspiratura."—
Epist. Bonifac., 144.

A.D. 752.
March 14.

March 26.
Stephen II.
or III.

with courtesy, his gifts with avidity; a hollow truce for forty years was agreed on; but in four months
 June. (the terms of the treaty, and the pretext alleged by Astolph for its violation, are equally unknown) the Lombard was again in arms. In terms
 October. of contumely and menace he demanded the instant submission of Rome, and the payment of a heavy personal tribute, a poll-tax on each citizen. Astolph now treated the ambassadors of the Pope with scorn.* A representative of the empire, which still clung to its barren rights in Italy, John the Silentiary, appeared at Rome. He was sent to Ravenna, to protest against the Lombard invasion, and to demand the restoration of the Roman territory to the republic. Astolph dismissed
 October. him with a civil but evasive answer, that he would send an ambassador to the Emperor. Stephen wrote to Constantinople, that without an army to back the imperial demands, all was lost.

Astolph, exasperated, perhaps, at the demand of an army from the East, which might reach his ears, inflexibly pursued his advantages. He approached the Roman frontier; he approached Rome. Not all the litanies, not all the solemn processions to the most revered altars of the city, in which the Pope himself, with naked feet, bore the cross, and the whole people followed with ashes on their heads, and with a wild howl of agony implored the protection of God against the blaspheming Lombards, arrested for an instant his progress. The Pope appealed to heaven, by tying a copy of the treaty, violated by Astolph, to the holy

* According to Anastasius, Astolph | his *diabolic* ambition. This is a flower
 was required to surrender to their | of ecclesiastical rhetoric, yet showing
 rightfu' lord all that he had usurped by | the papal abhorrence of the Lombards.

cross.⁷ Yet, during the siege of Rome, Astolph was digging up the bodies of saints, not for insult, but as the most precious trophies, and carried them off as tutelar deities to Lombardy.⁸

The only succour was beyond the Alps, from Pepin, the king, by papal sanction, of the Catholic Franks. Already the Pope had written to beseech the interference of the Transalpine; and now, as the danger became more imminent, he determined to leave his beloved flock, though in a feeble state of health, to encounter the perils of a journey over the Alps, and so to visit the Barbarian monarch in person. He set forth amidst the tears and lamentations of the people. He was accompanied by some ecclesiastics, by the Frankish bishop Radigond, and the Duke Anscharis, already sent by Pepin to invite him to the court of France. Miracles, now the ordinary signs of a papal progress, were said to mark his course.⁹ Instead of endeavouring to pass without observation through the Lombard dominions, he boldly presented himself at the gate of Pavia. He was disappointed if he expected Astolph to be overawed by his presence, as Liutprand and Rachis had been by that of his saintly predecessor; but he was safe under the protection of the ambassador of Pepin.

Stephen
leaves Rome.

Oct. 14.

Novemoer.

⁷ "Alligans connectensque adorandæ cruci Dei nostri, pactum illud, quod nefandus Rex Longobardorum dirupit."—Anastas., in Vit. Steph. II.

⁸ "Ablata multa sanctorum corpora ex Romanis finibus, in Papiam . . . construxit eorum oracula." He founded a nunnery, in which he placed his own daughters.—Chron. Salernit.

⁹ Compare, on the other hand, the curious story in Agnelli. Stephen

wished to plunder on his way the treasures of the church of Ravenna. The Ravennese priests* (among them Leo, afterwards archbishop) designed to murder him. He escaped, taking only part of the treasures. Those who had plotted the death of the Pope were sent to Rome, and remained till most of them died. Among them, says the writer, "avus patris me fuit."—Apud Muratori.

Astolph received him not without courtesy, accepted his gifts, but paid no regard to his earnest tears and supplications; coldly rejected his exorbitant demands,—the immediate restoration of all the Lombard conquests—but respected his person, and tried only, by repeated persuasion, to divert him from his journey into France. Stephen, on leaving Pavia, anticipated any stronger measures to detain him by a rapid march to the foot of the Alps. In November he passed the French

Nov. 15.

frontier, and reached the convent of St. Maurice. There he was met by another ecclesiastic, and another noble of the highest rank, with orders to conduct him to the court. At a distance of a hundred miles

Jan. 6, 754.

from the court appeared the Prince Charles, with some chosen nobles. Charles was thus to be early impressed with reverence for the Papal dignity. Three miles from the palace of Pontyon,^b Pepin came forth with his wife, his family, and the rest of his feudatories. As the Pope approached, the king dismounted from his horse, and prostrated himself on the ground before him. He then walked by the side of the Pope's palfrey. The Pope and the ecclesiastics broke out at once into hymns of thanksgiving, and so chanting as they went, reached the royal residence. Stephen lost no time in adverting to the object of his visit. He implored the immediate interposition of Pepin to enforce the restoration of the domain of St. Peter. So relate the Italians. According to the French chroniclers, the Pope and his clergy, with ashes on their heads, and sackcloth on their bodies, prostrated themselves as suppliants at the feet of Pepin, and would not rise till he had promised his aid against the perfidious Lombard. Pepin

^b Pontyon on the Perche, near Vitry-le-brûlé.

swore at once to fulfil all the requests of the Pope ; but as the winter rendered military operations impracticable, invited him to Paris, where he took up his residence in the abbey of St. Denys. Pepin and his two sons were again anointed by the Pope himself, their sovereignty thus more profoundly sanctified in the minds of their subjects. Stephen would secure the perpetuity of the dynasty under pain of interdict and excommunication. The nation was never to presume to choose a king in future ages, but of the race of Charles Martel.^c From fatigue and the severity of the climate, Stephen became dangerously ill in the monastery of St. Denys, but, after a hard struggle, recovered his health. His restoration was esteemed a miracle, wrought July. through the prayers of St. Denys, St. Peter, and St. Paul.

Astolph, in the mean time, did not disdain the storm which was brooding beyond the Alps. He took an extraordinary measure to avert the danger. He persuaded Carloman, the brother of Pepin, who had abdicated his throne, and turned monk, to leave his monastery, to cross the Alps, and endeavour to break this close alliance between Pepin and the Pope. No wonder that the clergy should attribute the influence of Astolph over the mind of Carloman to diabolic arts, for Carloman appeared at least, whether seized by an access of reviving ambition, or incensed at Pepin's harsh treatment of his family, to enter with the utmost zeal into the cause of the Lombard. The humble slave of the Pope Zacharias presented himself in France as the resolute antagonist of Pope Stephen and of the Papal

^c "Tali omnes interdicto et excommunicationis lege constrinxit, ut nunquam de alterius lumbis regem in ævo præsumerent eligere."—Clausul. de Fippini Elect.

cause.^d But the throne of Pepin was too firmly fixed; he turned a deaf and contemptuous ear to his brother's arguments. The Pope asserted his authority over the renegade monk, who had broken his vows; and Carloman was imprisoned for life in a cloister at Vienne; that life, however, lasted but a few days.

Pope Stephen was anxious to avert the shedding of blood in the impending war.^e Thrice before he collected his forces, once on his march to Italy, Pepin sent ambassadors to the Lombard king, who were to exhort him to surrender peaceably the possessions of the Church and of the Roman Republic. Pope Stephen tried the persuasiveness of religious awe. Astolph rejected the menacing and more quiet overtures with scorn, and fell on

an advanced post of the Franks, which occupied one of the passes of the Alps, about to be entered by the army. He was routed by those few troops, and took refuge in Pavia. The King of the Franks and Pope Stephen advanced to the walls of the city; and Astolph was glad to purchase an ignominious peace, by pledging himself, on oath, to restore the territory of Rome.^f

Pepin had no sooner retired beyond the Alps with his hostages, than Astolph began to find causes to delay the

^d According to Anastasius, "vehementius decertabat, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ causam subvertere." It is impossible to conceive how Astolph could persuade him to engage in this strange and perilous mission, and the arguments urged by Carloman on his brother are still more strange. Eginhard asserts that he came "jussu abbatis sui quia nec ille abbatis sui jussa contempnere, nec abbas ille præceptis Regis Longobardorum, qui ei et hoc imperavit,

audebat resistere." Sub ann. 753.

^e "Obtestatur per omnia divina mysteria et futuri examinis diem ut pacifice sine ullâ sanguinis effusione propria sanctæ dei ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Romanorum reddat jura."—Vit. Steph.

^f The Pope attributed the easy victory of the Franks, not to their valour, but to St. Peter. "Per manum beati Petri Dominus omnipotens victoriam vobis largiri dignatus est."—Steph. Epist. ad Pepin. p. 1632.

covenanted surrender. After a certain time he marched with his whole forces upon Rome, to which Pope Stephen had then returned, wasted the surrounding country, encamped before the Salarian Gate, and demanded the surrender of the Pope.^a The plunder, if the Papal historian is to be believed, which he chiefly coveted, was the dead bodies of the saints. These he dug up and carried away. He demanded that the Romans should give up the Pope into his hands, and on these terms only would he spare the city. Astolph declared he would not leave the Pope a foot of land.^b

November.

December.

Siege of Rome.

Stephen sent messengers in all haste by sea, for every way by land was closed to his faithful ally. His first letter reminded King Pepin how stern an executor of promises was St. Peter; "that the king hazarded eternal condemnation if he did not complete the donation which he had vowed to St. Peter, and St. Peter had promised to him eternal life. If the king was not faithful to his word, the apostle had his handwriting to the grant, which he would produce against him in the day of judgement."

Pope Stephen's first letter.

A second letter followed, more pathetic, more persuasive. "Astolph was at the gates of Rome; he threatened, if they did not yield up the Pope, to put the whole city to the sword. He had burned all the villas and the suburbs;¹ he had not spared the churches; the very altars were plundered and defiled; nuns violated; infants torn from their

Second letter.

^a Stephan. Epist. Gretser, 261.—
"Aperite mihi portam Salarianam ut
ingrediar civitatem, et tradite mihi
pontificem vestrum."

^b Nec unius palmi terræ spatium
B. Petro . . . vel republicæ Roma-

norum reddere."—Steph. Epist. In
the utmost distress, the very stones,
the Pope says, might have wept at
his grief and peril.—Epist. ad Pepin.
Reg.

¹ Epist. ii. ad Pepin. Reg.

mother's breasts; the mothers polluted;—all the horrors of war were ready to break on the devoted city, which had endured a siege of fifty-five days. He conjured him, by God and his holy mother, by the angels of heaven, by the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by the Last Day." This second letter was sent by the hands of the Abbot Warnerius, who had put on his breast-plate, and night and day kept watch for the city. (This is the first example of a warlike abbot.) With him were George, a bishop, and Count Tomaric. Stephen summed up the certain reward which Pepin might expect if he hastened to the rescue—"Victory over all the Barbarian nations, and eternal life."

But the Franks were distant, or were tardy; the danger of the Pope and the Roman people more and more imminent. Stephen was wrought to an agony of fear, and in this state took the daring—to our calmer religious sentiment, impious step—of writing a letter, as from St. Peter himself, to hasten the lingering succour:—"I, Peter the Apostle, protest, admonish, and conjure you, the Most Christian Kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman, with all the hierarchy, bishops, abbots, priests, and all monks; all judges, dukes, counts, and the whole people of the Franks. The Mother of God likewise adjures you, and admonishes and commands you, she as well as the thrones and dominions, and all the host of heaven, to save the beloved city of Rome from the detested Lombards. If ye hasten, I, Peter the Apostle, promise you my protection in this life and in the next, will prepare for you the most glorious mansions in heaven, and will bestow on you the everlasting joys of paradise. Make common cause with my people of Rome, and I will grant whatever ye may pray for. I conjure you not to yield up

Doc. 754—
Feb. 765.
Third from
St. Peter
himself.

this city to be lacerated and tormented by the Lombards, lest your own souls be lacerated and tormented in hell, with the devil and his pestilential angels. Of all nations under heaven, the Franks are highest in the esteem of St. Peter; to me you owe all your victories. Obey, and obey speedily, and, by my suffrage, our Lord Jesus Christ will give you in this life length of days, security, victory; in the life to come, will multiply his blessings upon you, among his saints and angels." ^k

A vain but natural curiosity would imagine the effect of this letter at the court of Pepin. Were there among his clergy or among his warrior nobles those who really thought they heard the voice of the apostle, and felt that their eternal doom depended on their instant obedience to this appeal? How far was Pepin himself governed by policy or by religious awe? How much was art, how much implicit faith wrought up to its highest pitch by terror, in the mind of the Pope, when the Pope ventured on this awful assumption of the person of the apostle? That he should hazard such a step, having had personal intercourse with Pepin, his clergy, and his nobles, shows the measure which he had taken of the power with which religion possessed their souls. He had fathomed the depths of their Christianity; and whether he himself partook in the same, to us extravagant, notions, or used them as lawful instruments to

^k Gretser, pp. 17-23. Mansi, sub ann. A.D. 755. Fleury observes of this letter: "Au reste, elle est pleine d'équivoques, comme les précédentes. L'Eglise y signifie non l'assemblée des fidèles, mais les biens temporels consacrés à Dieu: le troupeau de Jésus Christ sont les corps et non pas les âmes: les promesses temporelles de l'ancienne loi sont mêlées avec les spi-

rituelles de l'Evangile, et les motifs plus saints de la religion employés pour une affaire d'état."—Liv. xlvii. c. 17. After all, the ground of quarrel was for the exarchate, not for the estates of the Church. If the Pope had allowed the Lombards to occupy the exarchate, they would have been loyal allies of the Pope.

terrify the Barbarians into the protection of the holy see and the advancement of her dominion, he might consider all means justified for such high purposes. If it had been likely to startle men, by this overwrought demand on their credulity, into reasoning on such subjects, it would have hindered rather than promoted his great end.

Not the least remarkable point of all is, that Christianity has now assumed the complete power, not only of the life to come, but of the present life, with all its temporal advantages. It now leagues itself with Barbarians, not to soften, to civilise, to imbue with devotion, to lead to Christian worship; but to give victory in all their ruthless wars, to confer the blessings of heaven on their schemes of ambition and conquest. The one title to eternal life is obedience to the Church—the Church no longer the community of pious and holy Christians, but the see, almost the city, of Rome. The supreme obligation of man is the protection and enlargement of her domain. By zeal in this cause, without any other moral or religious qualification, the most brutal and bloody soldier is a saint in heaven. St. Peter is become almost God, the giver of victory, the dispenser of eternal life. The time is approaching when war against infidels or enemies of the Pope will be among the most meritorious acts of a Christian.

The Franks had alarmed the Pope by the tardiness of their succour; but, their host once assembled and on its march, their rapid movements surprised Astolph.

Pepin in
Italy.
Lombards
yield.

Scarcely could he return to Pavia, when he found himself besieged in his capital. The Lombard forces seem to have been altogether unequal to resist the Franks. Astolph yielded at once to the demands of Pepin, and actually abandoned the

whole contested territory. Ambassadors from the East were present at the conclusion of the treaty, and demanded the restitution of Ravenna and its territory to the Byzantine Empire. Pepin declared that his sole object in the war was to show his veneration for St. Peter; and he bestowed, as it seems, by the right of conquest, the whole upon the Pope.

The representatives of the Pope, who however always speak of the republic of Rome, passed through the land, receiving the homage of the authorities and the keys of the cities. The district comprehended Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Iesi, Forlimpopoli, Forlì with the Castle Sussibio, Montefeltro, Acerra, Monte di Lucano, Serra, San Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luciole, Gubbio, Comachio, and Narni which was severed from the dukedom of Spoleto.^m

Thus the successor, as he was declared, of the fisherman of the Galilean lake, the apostle of Him whose kingdom was not of this world, became a temporal sovereign. By the gift of a foreign potentate, this large part of Italy became the kingdom of the Bishop of Rome.

King Astolph did not long survive this humiliation; he was accidentally killed when hunting. The adherents of the Pope beheld the hand of God in his death; they heap on him every appellation of scorn and hatred; the Pope has no doubt of his damna-

A.D. 756.

^m It is not quite clear how Stephen himself eluded the claims of the Greek Emperor—probably by the Emperor's heresy. In Stephen's letter of thanks for his deliverance to the King of the Franks, he desires to know what answer had been given to the Silen-

tiary, commissioned to assert the rights of his master. He reminds Pepin that he must protect the Catholic Church against pestilent wickedness (*malitia*), (no doubt the iconoclastic opinions of the Emperor), and keep her *property* secure (*omnia proprietatis sue*).

tion.^a The Lombards of Tuscany favoured the pretensions of their Duke Desiderius to the throne. In the north of Italy, Rachis, the brother of Astolph, who had retired to a monastery, appeared at the head of a powerful faction, and reclaimed the throne. Desiderius endeavoured to secure the influence of the pope. Stephen extorted, as the price of his interference, Faenza, Imola, with some other castles, and the whole duchy of Ferrara.^o Stephen no doubt felt a holy horror of the return of a monk to worldly cares, even those of a crown. This would be rank apostasy with him who was thus secularising the papacy itself.

During the later years of Stephen's pontificate, a strong faction had designated his brother Paul as successor to the see. Another party, opposed perhaps to this family transmission of the papacy, which was thus assimilating itself more and more to a temporal sovereignty, set up the claims of the Archdeacon Theophylact. On the vacancy the partisans of Paul prevailed. The brother of Stephen was raised to the throne of St. Peter. Paul has the fame of a mild and peace-loving prelate. He loved to wander at night among the hovels of the poor, and to visit the prisons, relieving misery and occasionally releasing the captives from their bondage. Yet is Paul not less involved in the ambitious designs of the advancing papacy. His first act is to announce his election to the King of the Franks, who had now the title, probably bestowed by Stephen, of Patrician of Rome. His letter does not allude to any further ratification of his

^a "Divino ictu percussus est et in inferni voraginem demersus."—Epist. ad Pepin. vi.; Gretser, 60; Mansi, sub ann.

^o Perhaps also Osimo, Ancona, and he even demanded Bologna.

election, made by the free choice of the clergy and people of Rome ; there is no recognition whatever of supremacy.

Desiderius, till he had secured his throne in Lombardy, remained on terms of amity with the Pope ; but the old irreconcilable hostility broke out again soon after the accession of Paul.

Among the causes of the weakness of the Lombard kingdom, and the easy triumph of the Franks, was the disunion of the nation. The Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento renounced their allegiance to the King of Pavia, and declared their fealty to the King of the Franks. The chastisement of their revolt gave Desiderius a pretext for war. He marched, ravaging as he went with fire and sword, through the cities of the exarchate, surprised and imprisoned the Duke of Spoleto, forced the Duke of Benevento to take refuge in Otranto, and set up another duke in his place. He then proceeded to Naples, still occupied by the Greeks, and endeavoured to negotiate a dangerous alliance with the Eastern emperor.^p On his return he passed through Rome ; and when the Pope demanded the surrender of the stipulated cities—Imola, Osimo, Ancona, and Bologna—Desiderius eluded the demand by requiring the previous restitution of the Lombard hostages carried by Pepin into France ; but dreading perhaps a new Frankish invasion, Desiderius gradually submitted to the fulfilment of the treaty. Disputes arose concerning certain patrimony of the Church in some of the Lombard cities, but even these were amicably adjusted. The adulation of Paul to the King of the Franks passes bounds. He is another Moses ; as Moses rescued Israel

•
^p Gretser, p. 81 ; Mansi, sub ann. 758.

from the bondage of Egypt, so Pepin the Catholic Church; as Moses confounded idolatry, so Pepin heresy. The rapturous expressions of the Psalms about the Messiah are scarcely too fervent to be applied to Pepin. All his acts are under divine inspiration.⁹ The only apprehensions of Paul seemed to be on the side of the Greeks. On one occasion he writes that six Byzantine ships menaced a descent on Rome; on another he dreads an attack by sea on Ravenna. He entreats the King of the Franks to urge Desiderius to make common cause against the enemy; but he represents the hostility of the Greeks as arising not from their desire to recover their rights in Italy, but solely from the impious design of destroying the images, of subverting the Catholic faith and the traditions of the holy fathers. They are odious iconoclastic heretics, not the Imperial armies warring to regain their lost dominions in Italy. The Greeks have now succeeded to the appellation of "the most wicked," a term hitherto appropriated to the Lombards; but hereafter the epithet of all those who resisted the temporal or spiritual interest of the Papal See.⁷

Such was the singular position of Rome and of the Roman territory. In theory they were still part of

⁹ Gretser, Epist. xvi. "Novus quippe Moses, novusque David in omnibus operibus suis effectus est Christianissimus, et a Deo protectus filius et spiritalis compater Dominus Pepinus."—Epist. xxii. Thou, after God, art our defender and aider; if all the hairs of our head were tongues, we could not give you thanks equal to your deserts.—Epist. xxxvi. Throughout it is St. Peter who has anointed Pepin king; St. Peter who is the

giver of all Pepin's victories over the Barbarians; St. Peter whom he protects; St. Peter whose gratitude he has a right to command; and St. Peter is all powerful in heaven.

⁷ "Non ob aliud nefandissimi nos persequuntur Græci, nisi propter sanctam et orthodoxam fidem, et venerationem patrum piam traditionem, quam cupiunt destrueret et conculcare."—Epist. ad Pepin.

the Roman Empire, of which the Greek emperor, had ne been orthodox, would have been the acknowledged sovereign ;^a but his iconoclasm released the members of the true church from their allegiance : he was virtually or actually under excommunication. In the mean time the right of conquest, and the indefinite title of Patrician, assigned by the Pope, acting in behalf and with the consent of the Roman republic, to Pepin—a title which might be merely honorary, or might justify any authority which he might have power to exercise—gave a kind of supremacy to the King of the Franks in Rome and her domain. The Pope, tacitly at least, admitted as the representative of the Roman people, awarded this title to Pepin, which gave him a right to demand protection, while himself, by the donation of Pepin, possessed the actual property and the real power. In the Exarchate he ruled by the direct grant of Pepin, who had conquered this territory from the Lombards, they having previously dispossessed the Greeks. Popes of this time kept up the pious fiction that the donations even of sovereigns, though extending to cities and provinces, were given for holy uses, the keeping up the lights in the churches, and the maintenance of the poor.^b But who was to demand account of the uses to which these revenues were applied ? The Pope took possession as lord and master ; he received the homage of the authorities and the keys of the cities. The local or municipal institutions remained ; but the revenue, which had before been received by the Byzantine crown, be-

^a The Greeks still retained Naples and the South of Italy.

^b "Unde pro animæ vestræ salute indelessa luminarium concinnatio Dei ecclesiis permanent, et esuries pau-

perum, egenorum, vel peregrinorum nihilominus relevetur, et ad veram saturitatem perveniant."—Steph. II. ad Pepin. Epist.

came the revenue of the Church: of that revenue the Pope was the guardian, distributor, possessor.

The pontificate of Paul, on the whole, was a period of peace. If Desiderius, after his first expedition against the rebel Duke of Spoleto, did not maintain strictly amicable relations with the Papal Sec, he abstained from hostility.

But, as heretofore, the loftier the papal dignity and the greater the wealth and power of the Pope, the more it became an object of unhallowed ambition. On the death of Paul, that which two centuries later reduced the Papacy to the lowest state of degradation, the violent nomination of the Pope by the petty barons and armed nobles of the neighbouring districts, was prematurely attempted. Toto, the Duke

of Nepi, suddenly, before Paul had actually expired, entered the city with his three brothers and a strong armed force. As soon as Paul was

dead, they seized a bishop and compelled him to ordain Constantine, one of the brothers, yet a layman. They then took possession of the Lateran palace, and after a hasty form of election, forced the same bishop, George of Palestrina, with two others, Eustratius of Alba and

Citonatus of Porto, to consecrate Constantine as Pope.^a The usurper retained possession of the see for more than a year, ordained and discharged all the offices of a pontiff, a period reckoned as a vacancy in the papal annals. At the end of that time two distinguished Romans, Christopher the Primmerius and Sergius his son, made their escape to the court of Pavia, to entreat the intervention of Desiderius. They obtained the aid of some Lombards, chiefly from

Papacy seized by Toto.
Jan. 28, 767.
Constantine Pope.
July 6, 767,
to Aug. 1, 768.

^a Vit. Stephan. III.

the duchy of Spoleto, and appeared in arms in the city. Toto at first made a valiant defence, but was betrayed by his own followers and slain. July 29.

Constantine, the false Pope, with his brother and a bishop named Theodorus, endeavoured to conceal themselves, but were seized by their enemies.

During the tumult part of the successful insurgents hastily elected a certain Philip, and installed him in the Lateran palace. The stronger party assembled a more legitimate body of electors, the chief July 31.
Philip.

of the clergy, of the army, and of the people. The unanimous choice fell on Stephen III., who had been employed in high offices by Paul.^x A.D. 768.
Stephen III.
Cruelties in
Rome.

The scenes which followed in the city of the head of Christendom must not be concealed.^y The easy victory was terribly avenged on Constantine and his adherents. The Bishop Theodorus was the chief object of animosity. They put out his eyes, cut off his tongue, and shut him up in the dungeon of a monastery, where he was left to die of hunger and of thirst, vainly imploring a drop of water in his agony. They put out the eyes of Passianus, the brother of the usurping Pope, and shut him up in a monastery: they plundered and confiscated all their possessions. The usurper was led through the city riding on a horse with a woman's saddle, with heavy weights to his feet; then brought out, solemnly deposed (for he was yet Pope elect)^z and thrust into the monastery of Centumcellæ. Even there he was not allowed to repent in peace of his ambition. A party of his enemies first seized a tribune of his fac-

^x He is called Vice Dominus.

^y Anastas., Vit. Stephan. I. I.

^z "Dum adhuc electus extitisset."—Vit. Steph. III.

tion, named Gracilis, put out his eyes, surprised the convent, treated the Pope in the same inhuman manner, and left him blind and bleeding in the street. These atrocities were not confined to the adherents of Constantine. A presbyter named Waldipert had taken a great part in the revolution, had accompanied Christopher, the leader of the deliverers, to Rome, but he had been guilty of the hasty election of Philip to the papacy. He was accused of a conspiracy to betray the city to the Duke of Spoleto. He fled to the church of the Virgin ad Martyres. Though he clung to and clasped the sacred image, he was dragged out, and plunged into one of the most noisome dungeons in the city. After a few days he was brought forth, his eyes put out, his tongue cut in so barbarous a manner that he died. Some of these might be the acts of a fierce, ungovernable, excited populace; but the clergy, in their collective and deliberate capacity, cannot be acquitted of as savage inhumanity.

The first act of Stephen was to communicate his election to the Patrician, the King of the Franks.

Aug. 1, 768. Pepin had expired before the arrival of the ambassadors. His sons sent a deputation of twelve bishops to Rome. The Pope summoned the bishops of Tuscany, of Campania, and other parts of Italy, and with the Frankish bishops formed a regular Council in the Lateran. The usurper Constantine was brought in, blind and broken in spirit, to answer for his

April 12, 769. offences. He expressed the deepest contrition, he grovelled on the earth, he implored the mercy of the priestly tribunal. His sentence was deferred. On his next examination he was asked how, being a layman, he had dared to venture on such an

impious innovation as to be consecrated at once a bishop. It is dangerous at times to embarrass adversaries with a strong argument. He replied that it was no unprecedented innovation; he alleged the ^{Punishment of Constantine.} cases of the Archbishops of Ravenna and of Naples, as promoted at once from laymen to the episcopate. The indignant clergy rose up, fell upon him, beat him cruelly with their own hands, and turned him out of the church.

All the instruments which related to the usurpation of Constantine were then burned; Stephen solemnly inaugurated; all who had received the communion from the hands of Constantine professed their profound penitence. A decree was passed interdicting, under the strongest anathema, all who should aspire to the episcopate without having passed through the inferior orders. All the ordinations of Constantine were de-
April 14, 769.
clared null and void; the bishops were thrown back to their inferior orders, and could only attain the episcopate after a new election and consecration. The laymen who had dared to receive these irregular orders fared worse: they were to wear the religious habit for their lives, being incapable of religious functions. This Lateran Council closed its proceedings by an unanimous decree in favour of image-worship, anathematising the godless Iconoclasts of the East.

These tragic scenes closed not with the extinction of the faction of Constantine: new victims suffered the dreadful punishment of blinding, some also seclusion in a monastery, the ordinary sentence of all whose lives were spared in civil conflict. But the causes of this new revolution and the conduct of the Pope are contested and obscure. All that is undoubted is that the King of the Lombards appears as the protector of the Pope;

Carloman the Frank, the son of Pepin, threatens his dethronement.^a

Desiderius, the Lombard King, presented himself before Rome with the avowed object of delivering the Pope from the tyranny of Christopher the primicerius, and his son Sergius. These men had been the leaders, with Lombard aid, in the overthrow of the usurper. Christopher and his son hastily gathered some troops, and closed the gates of the city. They were betrayed by Paul (named Afiarta), the Pope's chamberlain, seized, blinded: the elder, Christopher, died of the operation. Desiderius boasted of this service as equivalent to and annulling all the papal claims to certain rights in the cities of Lombardy. Carloman the Frank, on the other hand, espoused the cause of these oppressors, as they were called, of the Pope, who had menaced his life, in conjunction with Dodo, Carloman's ambassador. Carloman threatened to avenge their punishment by marching to Rome and dethroning the Pope. This strange state-

* The great object of dispute, after the surrender of the exarchate, that which the popes constantly demanded, and the Lombard kings endeavoured to elude, was the full restitution of the "justitiæ" claimed by the pope within the Lombard kingdom.—Vit. Stephan. III. This term, intelligible in the forensic language of the day, is now unmeaning. Muratori defines it,

Allodiale, rendite e diritte, che appartenevano alla chiesa Romana nel regno Longobardico." But what were these allodial rights, in a kingdom of which the full sovereignty was in the Lombards? Were they estates held by the Church, as landlords, like those

in Sicily or elsewhere? or *dues* claimed at least of all Roman Christians in Italy? Sismondi's suggestion, that it means the royal cities, the property of the crown, which were administered in France by judges, seems quite inapplicable to the Lombard kingdom (Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, ii. p. 281). Manzoni, in a note to his *Adelchi*, supposes that it was a vague term, intended to comprehend all the demands of the Church. Yet in the epistles of the several popes, the two Stephens, Paul, and Hadrian, it seems to mean something specific and definite. To me Muratori appears nearest to the truth.

ment is confirmed by a letter of Stephen himself, addressed to Bertha, the mother of the Frankish kings, and to Charlemagne.^b The biographer of Pope Stephen gives an opposite version. The hostility of Desiderius to Christopher and Sergius arose from their zeal in enforcing the papal demands on the Lombard kings. He denounces the Lombards as still the enemies of the Pope, and accuses Paul, the Pope's chamberlain, their ally, of the basest treachery.

At all events this transitory connexion between the Pope and the Lombards soon gave way to the old implacable animosity. Whatever might be the claim of Desiderius on the gratitude of Stephen, the intelligence of a proposed intimate alliance between his faithful protectors the Franks, and his irreconcilable enemies the Lombards, struck the Pope with amazement and dismay.

^b "Unde (Christophorus et Sergius, cum Dodone Carlomanni regis misso) in basilicam domni Theodori papæ, ubi sedebamus, introierunt, sicque ipsi maligni homines insidiabantur nos interficere."—Cenni, Monument, i. 267. Jaffé, p. 201. This letter is by some supposed to have been written under compulsion, when Desiderius was master of the Pope and of Rome. Muratori hardly answers this by showing that it was written after the execution of Christopher and Sergius.

CHAPTER XII.

Charlemagne on the Throne.

THE jealousies of Carloman and Charles, the sons of
Carloman and Charles. Pepin, who had divided his monarchy, were
for a time appeased. Bertha, their mother, seized the opportunity of strengthening and uniting her divided house by intermarriages with the family of the Lombard sovereign. Desiderius was equally desirous of this connexion with the powerful Transalpine kings. His unmarried son, Adelchis, was affianced to Gisela,^a the sister of Charlemagne; his daughter Hermingard proposed as the wife of one of the royal brothers. Both Carloman and Charles were already married; Carloman was attached to his wife Gisberta, by whom he had children. The ambition of Charles was less scrupulous; he at once divorced his wife (an obscure person, whose name has not been preserved by history), and wedded the daughter of Desiderius. In this union the Pope saw the whole policy of his predecessors threatened with destruction: their mighty protector was become the ally, the brother of their deadly enemy. Already the splendid donation of Pepin seemed wrested from his unresisting hands. Who should now interpose to prevent the Lombards from becoming masters of the Exarchate, of Rome, of Italy? The Pope lost all self-command; he gave vent to the full

^a Or Desiderata. Gisela became a nun.—Eginh., v. k. 1. xviii.

bitterness of Roman, of Papal hatred to the Lombards and to the agony of his terror, in a remonstrance so unmeasured in its language, so un-^{Letter of Pope Stephen.} papal, it might be said unchristian, in its spirit, as hardly to be equalled in the pontifical diplomacy.^b

"The devil alone could have suggested such a connexion. That the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the foetid brood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land.^c What could be worse than this abominable and detestable contagion? Light could not be more opposite to darkness, faith to infidelity." The Pope does not take his firm stand on the high moral and religious ground of the French princes' actual marriage. He reminds them of the consummate beauty of the women in their own land; that their father Pepin had been prevented by the remonstrances of the Pope from divorcing their mother; then briefly enjoins them not to dare to dismiss their present wives.^d Again he urges the evil of contaminating their blood by any foreign admixture (they had already declined an alliance with the Greek emperor), and then insists on the absolute impossibility of their maintaining their fidelity to the papal see, "that fidelity so solemnly sworn by

^b Muratori faintly hints a doubt of its authenticity; a doubt which he is too honest to assert.

^c Manzoni has pointed out with great sagacity, that in the 170th law of Rotharis there is a clause prescribing the course to be pursued with lepers; thus showing that the nation was really subject to the disease. Stephen might thus be expressing a common notion, that from the Lom-

bards, at least in Italy, "came the race of the lepers." Thus this expression, instead of throwing suspicion, as Muratori supposes, on the letter, confirms its authenticity.—*Discorso Storico*, subjoined to the tragedy 'Adelchi,' p. 199.

^d "Nec vestras quodammodo conjuges audeatis demittere." But it is the guilt of the alliance, not of the divorce, on which he dwells.

their father, so ratified on his death bed, so confirmed by their own oaths," if they should thus marry into the perfidious house of Lombardy. "The enmity of the Lombards to the papal see is implacable. Wherefore St. Peter himself solemnly adjures them, he, the Pope, the whole clergy, and people of Rome adjure them by all which is awful and commanding, by the living and true God, by the tremendous day of judgement, by all the holy mysteries, and by the most sacred body of St. Peter, that neither of the brothers presume to wed the daughter of Desiderius, or to give the lovely Gisela in wedlock to his son. But if either (which he cannot imagine) should act contrary to this adjuration, by the authority of St. Peter he is under the most terrible anathema, an alien from the kingdom of God, and condemned with the devil and his most wicked ministers and with all impious men, to be burned in the eternal fire; but he who shall obey shall be rewarded with everlasting glory."

But Pope Stephen spoke to obdurate ears. Already Charlemagne began to show that, however highly he might prize the alliance of the hierarchy, he was not its humble minister. Lofty as were his notions of religion, he would rarely sacrifice objects of worldly policy. Sovereign as yet of but one-half the dominions of his father Pepin, he had not now by the death of his brother and the dispossession of his brother's children consolidated the kingdom of the Franks into one great monarchy. It was to his advantage, in case of hostilities with his brother (already they had once broken out), to connect himself with the Lombard kingdom. He married the daughter of Desiderius; and his own irregular passions, not the dread of papal censure, dissolved, only a year after, the inhibited union.

The acts and the formal documents of the earlier Popes rarely betray traces of individual character. The pontificate of Stephen III. was short—about a year and a half. Yet in him there appears a peculiar passionate feebleness in his relation to the heads of the different Roman factions and to the King of the Lombards, no less than in his invective against the marriage of the French princes into the race of Desiderius.

His successors, Hadrian I. and Leo III., not only occupy the papal throne at one of the great epochs of its aggrandisement, but their pontificates were of much longer duration than usual. Hadrian entered on the 23rd, Leo on the 21st year of his papacy, and Hadrian at least, a Roman by birth, appears admirably fitted to cope with the exigencies of the times ;—times pregnant with great events, the total and final disruption of the last links which connected the Byzantine and Western empires, the extinction of the Lombard Kingdom, the creation of the Empire of the West.

If the progress of the younger son of Pepin, Charles the Great, to almost universal empire now occupied the attention of the West, it was watched by the Pope with the profoundest interest. If Stephen III. had trembled at the matrimonial alliance which he had vainly attempted to prevent, between the King of the Franks and the daughter of Desiderius, which threatened to strengthen the closer political relations of those once hostile powers, his fears were soon allayed by the sudden disruption of that short-lived connexion. After one year of wedlock, Charles, apparently without alleging any cause, divorced Hermingard, threw back upon her father his repudiated daughter, and embittered the insult by an immediate marriage with Hildegard, a

A. D. 768-772,
Feb. 1.
Hadrian I.

German lady of a noble Saxonian house.* The careless indifference with which Charlemagne contracted and dissolved that solemn bond of matrimony, the sanctity if not the indissolubility of which the Church had at least begun to assert with the utmost rigour, shocked some of his more pious subjects. Adalhard, the Abbot of Corbey, could not disguise his religious indignation; so little was he versed in courtly ways, he would hold no intercourse with the unlawful wife.† Pope Hadrian maintained a prudent silence. He was not called upon officially to take cognisance of the case; and the divorce from the Lombard Princess, the severance of those unhallowed ties with the enemy of the Church against which his predecessor had so strongly protested, might reconcile him to a looser interpretation of the law. A marriage, not merely unblessed but anathematised by the Church, might be considered at least less binding than more hallowed nuptials.

Every step which the ambition of Charles made towards dominion and power, showed, it might be hoped, a more willing and reverent, as well as a more formidable defender of the Church. At his great national assemblies, as in those of his pious father, the bishops met on equal terms with the nobles, the peaceful prelates mingled with the armed counts and dukes in the councils of Charles the Great.

Charlemagne's first Saxon war was a war of religion; it was undertaken to avenge the destruction of a church, the massacre of a saintly missionary and his Christian congregation.

* Eginhard, i. 18.

† Paschas. Radbert., Vit. Adalhard Abbatis.—“ Nullo negotio beatus senex persuaderi, dum adhuc esset tiro

palatii, ut ei, quam vivente illâ, rex acceperat, aliquo communicaret servitutis obsequio ”

Even his more questionable acts had the merit of estranging him more irrevocably from the enemies of the Pope. On the death of his brother Carloman, Charles seized the opportunity of reconsolidating the kingdom of his father Pepin. It is difficult to decide how far this usurpation offended against the justice or the usages of the age. The old Teutonic custom gave to the nobles the right of choosing their chieftain from the royal race.⁶ A large party of the Austrasian feudatories, how induced or influenced we may conjecture rather than assert, deliberately preferred a mature and able sovereign to the precarious rule of helpless and inexperienced children. Some, however, of the nobles, more strongly attached to the right of hereditary succession, more jealous of the rising power of Charles, or out of generous compassion, adhered to the claims of Carloman's children, who thus dispossessed, took refuge at the court of the Lombard Desiderius. The opportunity of revenge was too tempting for the rival king and the insulted father; he espoused their cause; but the alliance with Desiderius put the fatherless children at once out of the pale of the Papal sympathy. Desiderius thought he saw his advantage; he appealed to the justice, to the compassion, to the gratitude of the head of Christendom; he urged him to befriend the orphans, to anoint the heirs of the pious Carloman, and thus to recognise their royal title, as their papal predecessors had anointed Pepin, Carloman, and Charles.

Charlemagne
sole King
Dec. 771.

A.D. 772.

But Hadrian had too much sagacity not to discern

* Eginhard may show that this was a right, claimed at least by the common sentiment of the day. Of the Merovingians he says in the first sentence of his life of Charlemagne, "Gens . . . de qua Franci reges sibi creare s' liti erant."

the rising power of Charles, and would not be betrayed by any rashly-generous emotions into measures hostile to his interests. Desiderius resented his steadfast refusal. He heard at the same time of the death of his faithful partisan in Rome, Paul Afiarta, whom the Pope had condemned to exile in Constantinople. Paul, accused of having blinded and killed the secondary Sergius, before the decease of Pope Stephen, had been put to death, not, it was declared, with the connivance of the Pope, before he could leave Italy.^h

Desiderius supposed that Charles was fully occupied in establishing his sovereignty over his brother's kingdom, and in the war against the Saxons. He collected his forces, fell on Sinigaglia, Montefeltro, Urbino, and Gubbio, and ravaged the whole country of Romagna with fire and sword. His troops besieged, stormed, and committed a frightful massacre in Blera, a town of Tuscany, and already threatened the Pope in his capital. Desiderius, at the head of his army, and accompanied by all his family, advanced towards Rome to compel an interview declined resolutely by the Pontiff.

Hadrian relied not on the awe of his personal presence, by which Popes on former occasions had subdued the hostility of Lombard kings. He sent messengers in the utmost haste to solicit, to entreat immediate succour from Charles, but he himself neglected no means for the defence of Rome. Hadrian (a new office for a Pope) superintended the military

^h The death of Paul Afiarta was attributed to the indiscreet zeal of Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna (Leo owed his archiepiscopate to Pope Stephen). It was disclaimed by Hadrian: "Animam ejus cupiens salvare, penitentiam eum submitti decreveram . . . huc Romam eum deferendum." — Vit. Hadrian. Paul Afiarta's crime was that he had pledged himself to bring the Pope, willing or unwilling, before Desiderius. — Ibid.

preparations; he gathered troops from Tuscany, Campania, and every district within his power; strengthened the fortifications of Rome, transported the sacred treasures from the less defensible churches of St. Peter and St. Paul into the heart of the city; barricaded the gates of the Vatican, and having so done, reverted to his spiritual arms. He sent three Bishops, of Alba, Palestrina, Tibur, to meet the King, and to threaten him with excommunication if he dared to violate the territory of the Church. Desiderius had reached Viterbo; he was struck with awe, or with the intelligence of the preparations of Charles.

The ambassadors of the Frank arrived in Rome; on their return they passed through Pavia. Desiderius had returned to his capital; they urged him to reconciliation with the Pope. New ambassadors arrived, offering a large sum, ostensibly for his concessions to the demands of the Pope, but no doubt for the surrender of Carloman's children, whom Charles was anxious to get into his power.

Desiderius, who would not know the disproportion of his army to that of Charles, blindly resisted all accommodation. With his usual rapidity Charles, who had already assembled his forces, approached the passes of the Alps, one division that of Mont Cenis, the other that of the Mont St. Bernard. Treachery betrayed the passes,¹ in one of which, however, the hosts of Charlemagne suffered a signal defeat by the Lombards, under Adelchis, the king's son. This was no doubt the secret of the Lombard weakness. The whole of the Roman population of Lombardy looked

¹ "A suis quippe fideles callidè et traditus fuit."—Chron. Salernit. This chronicle shows the curious transi-
 tion from the Latin inflexion to the uninflected Italian, "et dum de fatus Karolus Sermo."

to the Pope as their head and representative; to the Franks as their deliverers. The two races had not mingled; the Lombards were but an armed aristocracy, lording it over a hostile race. A sudden famine dispersed the victorious troops of Adelchis, who still guarded the descent from Mont Cenis. Adelchis shut himself up in Verona; and Charles, encountering no enemy on the open plain, laid siege to Pavia.^k That city was, for those times, strongly fortified; it resisted for many months.

A.D. 774.
April 2.

During the siege, in the Holy Week of the next year, the King of the Franks proceeded to Rome to perform his devotions at the shrine of St. Peter, and to knit more closely his league with the Pope. Charles was already the deliverer, it might be hoped he would be the faithful protector of the Church. Excepting the cities of Verona and Pavia, he was already master of all Northern Italy. With his father Pepin, he had been honoured with the name of Patrician of Rome; by this vague adoption, which the lingering pride of Rome might still esteem an honour to a Barbarian, he was head of the Roman republic. He might become, in their hopes, the guardian, the champion of the old Roman society, while at the same time his remote residence beyond the Alps diminished the danger which was always apprehended from neighbouring barbarians.

Accordingly, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities vied in the honours which they paid to the Patrician of Rome and the dutiful son of the Church, who had so speedily obeyed the summons of his spiritual father, and had come to prostrate himself before the reliques of the Apostles. At Novi, thirty miles distant, he was met

^k A.D. 773, October. Muratori sub ann.

by the Senate and the nobles of the city, with their banners spread. For a mile before the gates the way was lined by the military and the *schools*. At the gates all the crosses and the standards of the city, as was usual on the entrance of the Exarchs the representatives of the Emperor, went out to meet the Patrician. As soon as he beheld the cross, Charles dismounted from his horse, proceeded on foot with all his officers and nobles to the Vatican, where the Pope and the clergy, on the steps of St. Peter's, stood ready to receive him; as he slowly ascended he reverently kissed the steps; at the top he was affectionately embraced by the Pope. Charles attended with profound devotion during all the ceremonies of the Holy Season; at the close he ratified the donation of his father Pepin. The diploma which contained the solemn gift was placed upon the altar of St. Peter. Yet there is much obscurity as to the extent and the tenure of this most magnificent oblation ever made to the Church. The original record has long perished; its terms are but vaguely known. It is said to have comprehended the whole of Italy, the exarchate of Ravenna, from Istria to the frontiers of Naples, including the island of Corsica. The nature of the Papal tenure and authority is still more difficult to define. Was it the absolute alienation of the whole temporal power to the Pope? In what consisted the sovereignty still claimed and exercised by Charlemagne over the whole of Italy, even over Rome itself?

Charlemagne made this donation as lord by conquest over the Lombard kingdom, and the territory of the Exarchate. For Pavia at length fell, Donation of Charlemagne. and Desiderius took refuge in the usual asylum of de-throned kings, a monastery. His son, Adelchis, abandoned Verona, and fled to Constantinople. Thus expired

the kingdom of the Lombards; and Charles added to his royal titles that of Lombardy. The Exarchate, by his grant, was vested, either as a kind of feud, or in absolute perpetuity, in the Pope.^m

But, notwithstanding the grant of the conqueror, the Pope did not enter into undisputed possession of this territory. An ecclesiastic, Leo, the Archbishop of

Ravenna, set up a rival claim. He withheld

A.D. 775.

the cities of Faenza, Forli, Forlimpopoli, Cesena, Bobbio, Comachia, Ferrara, Imola, the whole Pentapolis, Bologna, from their allegiance to the see of Rome, ejected the judges appointed by Rome, appointed others of his own authority in the whole region, and sent missives throughout the province to prevent their submission to the papal officers.ⁿ Hadrian became the scorn of his enemies, who inquired what advantage he had gained by the destruction of the Lombards. He wrote the most pressing letter to Charles, entreating him to prevent this humiliation of St. Peter and his successors. The Archbishop of Ravenna succeeded to the title which, in the language of the papal correspondence, belongs to all the adversaries of the Pope's temporal greatness, the "Most wicked of Men."^o The

^m See the passage quoted by Muratori from the anonymous Scriptor Salernitanus, sub anno 774. The Lombard dukedom of Benevento raised itself into a principality, and asserted its independence.

ⁿ Agnelli, Vit. Pontif. Ravennat.—"Troppo è credibile, che questo sagace ed ambizioso prelato s' ingegnasse di far intendere a Carlo, ch' avrebbe egualmente potuto servire a onor di Dio, e de' santi apostoli, la liberalità, ch' fosse piaciuto al re di fare alla

chiesa di Ravenna, come a quella di Roma; ch'è già non mancavano ai Romani pontifici ubertosi patrimoni in più parte d' Italia e di Sicilia," &c. &c. This ingenious conjecture of Denina (Revoluz. d' Italia, vol. i. p. 352) is but conjecture.

^o Nefandissimus. Compare Muratori, Annal. d' Italia, sub ann. 777. The epistle does not state on what the Archbishop of Ravenna rested his claim to this jurisdiction. This dispute shows still further the ambiguous

Pope asserted his right to the judicial authority, not only over the cities of the Pentapolis, but in Ravenna itself.

But the rivalry of Ravenna did not long restrain the ambition of a pontiff, secure in the protection of Charlemagne.

After some time, and some menaced interference from the East, Hadrian took possession of the Exarchate, seemingly with the power and ^{Hadrian in possession of the Exarchate.} privileges of a temporal prince. Throughout the Exarchate of Ravenna, he had "his men," who were judged by magistrates of his appointment, owed him fealty, and could not leave the land without his special permission. Nor are these only ecclesiastics subordinate to his spiritual power (that spiritual supremacy Hadrian indeed asserted to the utmost extent; Rome had a right of judicature over all churches).^p His language to Charlemagne is that of a feudal suzerain also: "as your men are not allowed to come to Rome without your permission and special letter, so my men must not be allowed to appear at the court of France without the same credentials from me." The same allegiance which the subjects of Charlemagne owed to him, was to be required from the subjects of the See of Rome to the Pope. "Let him be thus admonished, we are to remain

and undefined supremacy supposed to be conferred, even in his own day, by the donation of Charlemagne. Did the Archbishop claim in any manner to be Patrician of the Exarchate? See following note.

^p "Quanta enim auctoritas B. Petro Apostolorum principi, ejusque sacratissimæ sedi concessa est, cuiquam non ambigimus ignorari: atpote quæ de

omnibus ecclesiis fas habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam liceat de ejus judicare judicio. Quorumlibet sententias legati Pontificum, Sedes B. Petri Apostoli jus habet solvendi, per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesiæ cura confluit, et nihil unquam a suo capite dissidet."—Epist. Hadrian. ad Carol. Magn. Ccd. Carol. lxxxv., apud Bouquet, p. 579.

in the service, and under the dominion of the blessed apostle St. Peter, to the end of the world." The administration of justice was in the Pope's name; not only the ecclesiastical dues, and the rents of estates forming part of the patrimony of St. Peter, the civil revenue likewise came into his treasury. Hadrian bestows on Charlemagne, as a gift, the marbles and mosaics of the imperial palace in Ravenna, that palace apparently his own undisputed property.¹

Such was the allegiance claimed over the Exarchate and the whole territory included in the donation of Pepin and of Charlemagne, with all which the ever watchful Pope was continually adding (parts of the old Sabine territory, of Campania and of Capua) to the immediate jurisdiction of the Papacy. Throughout these territories the old Roman institutions remained under the Pope as Patrician, the Patriciate seemed tantamount to imperial authority.² The city of Rome alone maintained, with the form, somewhat of the independence of a republic. Hadrian, with the power, assumed the magnificence of a great potentate: his expenditure in Rome, more especially, as became his character, on the religious buildings, was profuse.

¹ "Tam marmora, quamque mosaicum, cæteraque exempla de eodem palatio vobis concedimus auferenda." —Epist. lxvii. apud Gretser.

² The Frankish monarch, afterwards the Emperor, was the *Patrician* of Rome. On the vague yet extensive authority conveyed by this title of Patrician, Muratori is the most full and satisfactory. Charlemagne, as his ancestors had been, was Patrician of Rome. Was this only an honorary title, while the civil supremacy over the city was vested in a republic (so

Pagi supposes, but according to others this notion is purely imaginary), or did the office invest him in full imperial authority? That he had a theoretic supremacy, the surrender to the successive Frankish monarchs of the keys of the city and of the sepulchre of St. Peter clearly shows. As imperial representative, or substitute, there was a Patrician of Sicily. The Lombard Dukes of Benevento obtained a grant of the *Patriciate* from Constantinople. The Pope claimed to be *Patrician* of the Exarchate. (See above.

Rome, with the increase of the Papal revenues, began to resume more of her ancient splendour.

Twice during the pontificate of Hadrian, Charlemagne, again visited Rome. The first time was an act of religious homage, connected with his future political plans. He came to celebrate the baptism of his younger son Pepin by the Pope, a son for whom he destined the kingdom of Italy. The second time he came as a protector, at the summons of the Pope, to deliver him from a new and formidable enemy at the gates of Rome. Arigiso the Lombard Duke of Benevento, who had married the daughter of Desiderius, had grown in power, and around him had rallied all the adversaries of the Papal and the Frankish interests. It was a Lombard league, embracing almost all Italy—Rotgadis, Duke of Friuli, his father-in-law Stebelin Count of Treviso, the Duke of Spoleto. Arigiso had obtained the title of Patrician, with all its vague and indefinite pretensions, from Constantinople; he was in close correspondence with Adelchis, the son of the fallen Desiderius. Hadrian accused this dangerous neighbour of hostile encroachments on the patrimony of St. Peter. He entreated the invincible Charlemagne to cross the Alps to his succour. Charlemagne obeyed. He passed the Christmas at Pavia. He appeared at Rome: the Lombard shrunk from the unequal contest, and purchased peace by an annual tribute of 7000 pieces of gold. He gave his two sons as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty.* Hadrian, however, did not feel

* Eginhard, Vit. Karol., x.; Annal. sub ann. 786. Compare the very strange account in the Chronic. Salernit. 9, 10, 11, of the interference of the bishops at Benevento to save Arigiso from the wrath of Charlemagne; and the conspiracy of Paulus Diaconus, the historian, to murder Charlemagne. "How," says the Emperor, when urged to punish him, "can I cut off one who writes so elegantly?"

secure; he still suspected the designs and intrigues of the Lombard. The death of Arigiso, in the same year in which he swore allegiance to Charlemagne, did not allay the jealousies of Hadrian; for Charlemagne, in his generosity, placed the son of Arigiso, Grimoald, in the Dukedom of Benevento. Grimoald, during the life-time of Charlemagne, repaid this generosity by a faithful adoption, not only of the interests, but even the usages of the Franks. He shaved his beard, and clothed himself after the Frank fashion. In later days he became a formidable rival of Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, for the ascendancy in Italy.

While Charlemagne was yet at Rome, a more formidable rebellion began to lower. Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, was upon the seas with a considerable Greek force, supplied by order of the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine. The Huns broke into Bavaria and Friuli. Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, whose wife Liutberga was the sister of Adelchis, meditated revolt. Charlemagne, with his wonted rapidity, appeared in Germany. Tassilo was summoned before a diet at Ingelheim. He dared not refuse to appear; was condemned to capital punishment: in mercy shut up, with his son, in a monastery. His Lombard wife suffered the same fate. The Huns were driven back; the Greek army deserted Adelchis; the son of Desiderius fled; John, the Byzantine general, was strangled in prison.

This great pontiff Hadrian, who, during about twenty-four years, had reposed, not undisturbed, but safe under the mighty protection of Charlemagne, died before the close of the eighth century. The coronation of Charlemagne, as Emperor of the West, was reserved for his successor. At that corona-

Rebellion
suppressed.
A.D. 787.

A.D. 788.

A.D. 795.
Death of
Hadrian.

tion our history will pause to take a survey of Latin Christendom, now a separate Western Empire, under one temporal, and under one spiritual sovereign. Charlemagne showed profound sorrow for the death of Hadrian. He wept for him, according to his biographer,[†] as if he had been a brother or a dear son. An epitaph declared to the world the respect and attachment of the Sovereign of the West for his spiritual father.

On the death of Hadrian,[‡] an election of unexampled rapidity, and, as it seemed, of perfect unanimity among the clergy, the nobles, and the people, raised Leo III. to the pontifical throne.^{*} The first act of Leo was to recognise the supremacy of Charles, by sending the keys, not only of the city, with the standard of Rome, but those also of the sepulchre of St. Peter, to the Patrician. This unusual act of deference seems as if Leo anticipated the necessity of foreign protection; even the precipitancy of the election may lead to the suspicion that the unanimity was but outward. Secret causes of dissatisfaction were brooding in the minds of some of the leading men in Rome. The strong hand of Hadrian had kept down the factions which had disturbed the reign of his predecessor Stephen; now it is among the court, the family of Hadrian, even those whom he had raised to the highest offices, that there is at first sullen submission, ere long furious strife. Dark rumours spread abroad of serious charges against the Pope himself. Leo III. ruled, however, in seeming peace for three years and two months, at the close of which a frightful scene betrayed the deep and rooted animosity.

[†] Eginhard, c. xix.

[‡] Hadrian died on Christmas day.
The election was on the following day,

that of St. Stephen, A.D. 795.

^{*} Ann. Fil. sub ann. 796; Eginhard Annal.

Hadrian had invested his two nephews, Paschalis and Campulus, in two great ecclesiastical offices, the Præmicerius and Sacellarius. This first example of nepotism was a dismal omen of the fatal partiality of future Popes for their kindred. These two men, or one of them, may have aspired to the Pontificate, or they hoped to place a pontiff, more under their own influence, on the throne: their dark crime implies dark motives. The Pope was

to ride in solemn pomp, on St. George's day, to the church of St. Laurence, called in Lucinâ.

These ecclesiastics formed part of the procession. One of them excused himself for some informality in his dress.⁷ On a sudden, a band of armed men sprang

from their ambush. The Pope was thrown from his horse, and an awkward attempt was

made to practise the Oriental punishment of mutilation, as yet rare in the West, to put out his eyes, and to cut out his tongue. Paschalis and Campulus, instead of defending the Pope, dragged him into a neighbouring church, and there, before the high altar, attempted to complete the imperfect mutilation, beat him cruelly, and left him weltering in his blood. From thence they took him away by night (no one seems to have interposed in his behalf), carried him to the convent of St. Erasmus, and there threw him into prison. Leo recovered his sight and his speech; and this restoration, of course, in process of time became a miracle.⁸ His

⁷ He was sine planetâ.

- "Carnifices, geminas traxerunt fronte fenestras,
Et celerem abscondunt lacerato corpore linguam.

* * * * *
Sed manus alma Patris oculis medicamina
ademptis
Obtulit atque novo reparavit lumine
vultum;

* * * * *
Explicat et celerem truncataque lingua loquellam."

—See the poem of Angilbert, the poet of Charlemagne's court, Peitz, ii. p. 400. The papal biographer is modest as to the miracle.

enemies had failed in their object, the disqualifying him by mutilation for the Papacy. A faithful servant rescued him, and carried him to the church of St. Peter. There, no doubt, he found temporary protectors, until the Duke of Spoleto (Winegis), a Frank, marched into Rome to his deliverance, and removed him from the guilty city to Spoleto.

Urgent letters entreated the immediate presence of the Patrician, of Charles the protector of the Papacy, in Rome. But Charles was at a distance, about to engage in quelling an insurrection of the Saxons.^a The Pope condescended, or rather was compelled by his necessities, to accept the summons to appear in person before the Transalpine monarch. Charles was holding his court and camp at Paderborn, one of the newly-erected German bishoprics. The reception of Leo was courteous and friendly, magnificent as far as circumstances might permit. The poet describes the imperial banquet; nor does he fear to shock his more austere readers by describing the Pope and the Emperor as quaffing their rich wines with convivial glee.^b

But at the same time arrived accusations of some unknown and mysterious nature against the Pope; accusations, according to the annalists, made in the name of the Roman people.^c Charles did not decline, but postponed till his arrival in Rome the judicial investigation of these charges; but he continued to treat the Pope with undiminished respect and familiarity.

The return of Leo to Rome is said to have been one long triumph. Throughout Italy he was received with

^a Eginhard, Ann. 799.

^b Angilbert, apud Pertz, ii. 401, describes, as an eye-witness, the meet-

ing of the Pope and the Emperor.

^c "Quæ a populo Romano ei obijciæ bantur."

the honours of the apostle. The clergy and people of Rome thronged forth to meet him, as well as the military, among whom were bands (scholars) of Franks, of Frisians, and of Saxons, either at Rome for purposes of devotion, or as a foreign body-guard of the Pope.

The journey of Charles to Rome was slow. He went to Rouen, and to Tours, to pay his adorations at the shrine of St. Martin. There his wife, Liutgarda, died, and her funeral caused further delay. He then held a great diet at Mentz; and towards the close of the following year crossed the Alps, and halted at Ravenna. At Nomentana he was met by the Pope with high honours. After he had entered Rome he was received on the steps of St. Peter's by the Pope, the bishops, and the clergy; he passed into the church, the whole assembly joining in the solemn chant of thanksgiving.

But Charles did not appear at Rome as the avowed protector and avenger of the injured Pope against those who had so barbarously violated his sacred person. He assumed the office of judge.^d At a synod held some days after, a long and difficult investigation of the charges made against Leo by his enemies proceeded, without protest from the Pope.^e Paschalis and Campulus were summoned to prove their charges. On their failure, they were condemned to death; a sentence commuted, by the merciful interposition of the Pope, to imprisonment in France. Their other noble partisans

^d The clergy, according to the biographer, refused to judge the Pope, declaring their incompetency.

^e "In quibus vel maximum vel difficillimum erat."—Eginhard, Ann.

Eginhard expressly says, "*Hujus factionis fuere principes Paschalis nomenclator et Campulus Sacellarius et multi alii Romanæ urbis habitatores nobiles.*"—*Ibid.*

were condemned to decapitation. Yet this exculpation of Leo hardly satisfied the public mind. It was thought necessary that the Pope should openly, in the face of the people, in the sight of God, and holding the holy Gospels in his hands, avouch his own innocence. There was no complaint of the majesty of heaven insulted in his person, no reproof for the indignity offered to St. Peter in his successor; it was a kind of recognition of the tribunal of public opinion. The humiliation had something of the majesty of conscious blamelessness,—“I, Leo, Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgement, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed apostle Peter in whose sight we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated, nor commanded to be perpetrated,^f the wicked deeds of which I have been accused. This I call God to witness, whose judgement we must all undergo; and this I do, bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom on my successors, or on my brother bishops, but that I may altogether relieve you from any unjust suspicions against myself.”^g

Dec. 23.

This solemn judgement had hardly passed when Christmas day arrived: the Christmas of the last year in the eighth century of Christ. Charles and all his sumptuous court, the nobles and people of Rome, the whole clergy of Rome, were present at the high services

^f These words positively negative the notion that the crime of which Leo was accused was adultery or unchastity, which some expressions in Alcuin's letters seem to intimate. I cannot help suspecting that the charge

was some simoniacal proceeding (spiritual adultery) by which he had thwarted the ambitious views of Hadrian's relatives.

^g Baronius gives this form as “*in sacris ritibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*”

of the Nativity. The Pope himself chanted the mass, the full assembly were wrapt in profound devotion. At the close the Pope arose, advanced towards Charles, with a splendid crown in his hands, placed it upon his brow, and proclaimed him Cæsar Augustus. "God grant life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor." His words were lost in the acclamations of the soldiery, the people, and the clergy. Charles, with his son Pepin, humbly submitted to the ratification of this important act, and was anointed by the hands of the Pope.

Was this a sudden and unconcerted act of gratitude, a magnificent adulation of the Pope to the unconscious and hardly consenting Emperor? Had Leo deliberately contemplated the possible results of this assumption of authority—of this creation of a successor to the Cæsars over Latin Christendom? In what character did the Pope perform this act—as vicegerent of God on earth, as the successor of St. Peter, or as the representative of the Roman people? What rights did it convey? In what, according to the estimation of the times, consisted the Imperial supremacy? To these questions history returns but vague and doubtful answers. Charlemagne—writes Eginhard the secretary of the Emperor, the one contemporary authority—declared that holy as was the day (the Lord's nativity), if he had known the intention of the Pope he would not have entered the church.^b To treat this speech as mere hypocrisy agrees neither with the character nor the position of Charle; yet the Pope would hardly, even in the lavish excess of his gratitude, have ventured on such a step, if he d

^b Eginhard, in Vit. xx.; but Eginhard adds, "Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis Romanis Imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magnâ tulit-tientiâ, vicitque eorum contumac magnanimitate."—Vit. Kar., xxviii.

not reason, from his long conferences with the Emperor at Paderborn and his intercourse in Rome, to suppose that it was in accordance at least with the unavowed and latent ambition of Charles. In its own day it was perhaps a more daring and violent measure than it appears in ours. A Barbarian monarch, a Teuton, was declared the successor of the Cæsars. He became the usurper of the rights of the Byzantine emperors, which, though fallen into desuetude, had never been abandoned on their part, or abrogated by any competent authority.¹ The Eastern Cæsars had not been without jealousy of the progress of the Frankish dominion. The later Greek emperors sent repeated but vain remonstrances. It was alleged that the Greek Empire having fallen to a woman, Irene, and that woman detestable as the murderess of her son, in her the Byzantine Empire had come to an end. But the enmity of the Byzantine court to Charlemagne had betrayed itself by acts of hostility. Adelchis, the heir of the Lombard kingdom, that kingdom of which Charlemagne had assumed the

¹ "Imperatores etiam Constantino-politani, Nicephorus, Michael et Leo, ultro amicitiam et societatem ejus expetentes, complures ad eum misere legatos; cum quibus tamen propter susceptum a se Imperatoris nomen et ob hoc quasi qui Imperium eis præripere vellet, valde suspectum, fœdus firmissimum statuit, ut nulla inter partes cujuslibet scandali remaneret occasio. Erat enim semper Romanis et Græcis suspecta Francorum potentia, quia ipsam Romam matrem Imperii tenebat, ubi semper Cæsares et Imperatores soliti erant sedere."—Chron. Moissiac. In the other copy of this Chronicle (apud Bouquet, p. 79), we

read, "Delati quidem sunt ad eum, dicentes, quod apud Græcos nomen Imperii cessasset, et femina apud eos nomen Imperii teneret, Hirena nomine, quæ filium suum Imperatorem fraude captum oculis eruit, et nomen sibi imperii usurpavit." Compare, for a curious passage, Annal. Lauresheimenses, sub eodem anno. The chronicle of Salerno says: "Imperator quippe omnimodis non dici possit, nisi qui regnum Romanum præest, hoc est Constantinopolitanum. Reges Galliarum nunc usurparunt sibi tale nomen, nam antiquitus omnimodis s.e non vocitati sunt."—c. ii.

title, still held the dignity of Roman Patrician in Constantinople.^k

The significance of this act, the coronation, the subsequent anointing, the recognition by the Roman people, was not merely an accession of vague and indefinite grandeur (which it undoubtedly was), but added to the substantive power of Charlemagne. It was the consolidation of all Western Christendom under one monarchy. By establishing this sovereignty on the basis of the old Roman empire, it could not but gain something of the stability of ancient right.^m It was the voluntary submission of the Barbarians to the title at least of Roman dominion. In Rome Charlemagne affected to be a Roman: he condescended to put off his native Frankish dress, and appeared in the long tunic and chlamys, and with Roman sandals. While the Barbarians were flattered by this their complete incorporation with the old disdainful Roman Society, the Latins, conscious that in the Franks resided the real power, still aimed at maintaining their traditionary superiority in intellectual matters—a superiority which Charlemagne might hope to emulate, not to surpass. The Pope (for Charlemagne swore at the same time to maintain all the power and privileges of the Roman Pontiff) obtained the recognition of a spiritual dominion commensurate with the secular empire of Charlemagne. The Emperor and the Pope were bound in indissoluble

^k "In Constantinopoli itaque in patricius ordine atque honore consensuit."—Eginhard, 774.

^m Eginhard, c. 23. But compare Lehuierou, p. 362, who attributes Charlemagne's reluctance to assume the empire, and his apparent depreciation of the importance of the title of

Cæsar, to the dominant Teutonism of his character. Lehuierou espouses the theory that the emperor was only the advocate of the Church of Rome. But this was a purely German theory utterly unknown to Pope Hadrian or Pope Leo, and to the Roman Italians.

alliance; and notwithstanding the occasional outbursts of independence, or even superiority, asserted by Charlemagne himself, he still professed and usually showed the most profound veneration for the Roman spiritual supremacy; and left to his successors and to their subjects an awful sense of subjugation, from which they were not emancipated for ages.

The Imperial title was understood, no doubt, by the senate and people of Rome, to be conferred by themselves, as representing the republic, not by the Pope, of his sole religious authority. Without their assenting acclamations, in their estimation it would not have been valid. The Pope, as one of the people, as his subject therefore, paid adoration to the Emperor.ⁿ

But it is even more difficult to ascertain the rights which the imperial title conveyed in Rome itself, especially in one important particular. Rome became, it is clear, one of the subject cities of Charlemagne's empire. Even if the Pope had ever possessed any actual or asserted magisterial power, the events of the last year had shown that he did not govern Rome. He had no force, even for his personal security, against conspiracy or popular tumult. But the Emperor of Rome was bound to protect the Bishop of Rome: he was the conservator of the peace in this as in all the other cities of his empire, though here, as elsewhere, there was no abolition of the old Roman municipal institutions. The Senate still subsisted, the people called itself the Roman people; the shadow of a republic which had been suffered to survive throughout the Empire, and had

ⁿ "Et summus eundem
Præsul adoravit, sicut mos debitas olim
Principibus fuit antiquis, ac nomine dempto

Patricii, quo dictus erat prius, inde vocari
Augustus meruit plus, Imperii quoque
princeps." *Poeta Saxo, sub. anri. 801.*

occasionally seemed to acquire form, if not substance, still lurked beneath the Teutonic, as in later times beneath the Papal sovereignty. The great undefined, undefinable point was the conflicting right of the Emperor, the clergy, and the people, in the election and ratification of the election to the Popedom; as well as that which was hereafter to be the source of such long and internecine strife, the boundary of the two sovereignties, the temporal and the spiritual. This was the fatal feud which for centuries distracted Latin Christendom.

It was perhaps in its vagueness that chiefly dwelt its majesty and power, both as regards the Pope who bestowed and the Frank who received the Empire. In some unknown, undefined manner, the Empire of the West flowed from the Pope; the successor of St. Peter named, or sanctioned the naming of, the successor of Augustus and of Nero. The enormous power of Charlemagne, as contrasted with that of the Pope, disguised or ennobled the bold fiction, quelled at least all present inquiry, silenced any insolent doubt. If Charlemagne acknowledged the right of the Pope to bestow the Empire by accepting it at his hands, who should presume to question the right of the Pope to define the limits of the Imperial authority thus bestowed and thus received? And Charlemagne's elevation to the Empire invested his protection of the Pope in the more sacred character of a duty belonging to his office, ratified all his grants, which were now those not only of a conqueror *

* All writers, even ecclesiastics, call Charlemagne's descent into Italy a conquest.—See epitaph on his Queen Hildegard at Metz.

"Cumque vir armipotens sceptris junxisset
avitis
 Cycniferumque Padum, Romuleumque Ti-
 brim."
Pauli Gesta Episc. Met., Pertz, i. 266.

but of a successor to all the rights of the Cæsars. On one side the Teuton became a Roman, the King of the Franks was merged in the Western Emperor; on the other, Rome created the sovereign of the West, the sovereign of Latin Christendom.

BOOK V.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.	PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
795 Leo III.	784 Tarasius 806	800 Charlemagne	797 Irene, deposed 802 Nicephorus 811 Saurianus, deposed 811
816 Stephen III.	806 Nicephorus, de- posed 815	814 Louis the Pious	811 Michael Rhangabes 3
817 Paschal I.	815 Theodosius Cusi- rius 831	817 Lothar I.	813 Leo the Armenian, 829 murdered
827 Eugene II.	821 Anastasius 832	<i>Kings of Germany.</i> 840 Louis the Ger- man 875	830 Michael the Stam- mer 839
827 Gregory IV.	828 John VII., ex- pelled 842		832 Michael the Drunk- ard 867
844 Sergius II.	842 Methodius 846		
847 Leo IV.	846 Ignatius, deposed 857	853 Louis II. 875	
853 Benedict III. (Anastasius, anti- pope)			
856 Nicolas I.	857 Photius, deposed 867	875 Charles the Bald	867 Basil the Mac- donian 885
857 Hadrian II.	867 Ignatius, restored 877	875 Louis II.	
857 John VIII.		880 Charles the Simple in Italy, Guido, Re- négat 896 Lambert	875 Louis the Stam- mer 879 875 Louis III and Car- loton in 881 888 Louis 911
862 Marinus I.	867 Photius, restored Agan deposed 886		
864 Hadrian II.		886 Arnulf, emperor in Germany	
865 Stephen V.	883 Stephen 893		
866 Formosus	893 Antonius II. 895	<i>German Emperors.</i> 900 Louis III. 912	
896 Ponsiface II.	893 Nicolas, deposed 916	<i>Kings of Italy.</i> 890 Louis 904 901 Perengar, re- stored 923	
896 Stephen VI.			
897 Romanus			
897 Theod. re II.			
898 John IX.			
900 Benedict IV.			
903 Leo V.			
908 Christopher			

BOOK V.



CHAPTER 1.

Charlemagne.

THE empire of Charlemagne was almost commensurate with Latin Christendom;^a England was the Empire of Charlemagne. only large territory, which acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, not in subjection to the Empire. Two powers held sway in Latin Christendom, the Emperor and the Pope: of these incomparably the greatest at this time was the Emperor. Charlemagne, with the appellation, assumed the full sovereignty of the Cæsars, united with the commanding vigour of a great Teutonic conqueror. Beyond the Alps he was a German sovereign, assembling in his Diet the whole nobility of the Romanised Teutonic nations, and bringing the still barbarous races by force under his yoke. In Italy he was a northern conqueror, though the ally of the Pope and of Rome. But he was likewise an Emperor attempting to organise his vast dominions with the comprehensive policy of Roman administration, though not without respect for Teutonic freedom. He was the sole legislator in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs; the Carolinian institutions embrace the Church as well as

^a Compare limits of the empire of Charles—Eginhard, Vit. Car. xv. He includes within it the whole of Italy, from Aosta to Lower Calabria.

the State ; his Council at Frankfort dictates to the West, in despite of Papal remonstrances, on the great subject of image-worship. For centuries no monarch had stood so high, so alone, so unapproachable as Charlemagne. He ruled—ruled absolutely—by that strongest absolutism, the overawed or spontaneously consentient, cordially obedient, co-operative will of all other powers. He ruled from the Baltic to the Ebro, from the British Channel to the duchy of Benevento, even to the Straits of Messina. In personal dignity, who, it must not be said rivalled, approximated in the least degree, to Charlemagne? He had added, by his personal prowess in war, and this in a warlike age, by his unwearied activity, and by what success would glorify as military skill, almost all Germany, Spain to the Ebro, the kingdom of the Lombards, to the realm of the Franks and to Christendom. Huns, Avars, Slavians, tribes of unknown name and descent, had been repelled or subdued. His one defeat, that of Roncesvalles, is only great in recent poetry.^b Every rebel, the independent German princes, like Tassilo of Bavaria, had been crushed ; the obstinate Saxon, pursued to the court of the Danish King, at last became a subject and a Christian. On the Byzantine throne had sat an iconoclastic heretic, a boy, and a woman a murderess. Hadrian, during his long pontificate, had worn the Papal tiara with majesty. His successor, maimed and maltreated, had fallen to implore protection before the throne of Charlemagne ; he had been obliged to clear himself of enormous crimes, to purge himself by

^b See in H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 373, the very curious and spirited song (from a French historical periodical), called the Chant d'Altabiçar, said to have been preserved from the ninth or tenth century among the Pyrenean mountaineers.

oath before, what seemed to all, the superior tribunal of the Emperor. The gift of the Imperial crown had been the flattering homage of a grateful subject, somewhat loftily and disdainfully received; the donations of Charlemagne to the Pope were the prodigal but spontaneous alms of a religious King to the Church which he condescended to protect—free grants, or the recognition of grants from his pious ancestors.

Nor was it on signal occasions only that Charlemagne interfered in the affairs of the Church. His all comprehending, all pervading, all compelling administration was equally and constantly felt by his ecclesiastical as by his civil subjects. The royal commissioners inspected the conduct, reported on the lives, fixed and defined the duties, settled the tenure of property and its obligations, determined and apportioned the revenues of the religious as well as of the temporal hierarchy. The formularies of the Empire are the legal and authorised rules to bishops and abbots as to nobles and knights. The ecclesiastical unity is but a subordinate branch of the temporal unity. The State, the Empire, not the Church, is during the reign of Charlemagne a supreme unresisted autocracy. Later romance has fallen below, rather than heightened, the full reality of his power and authority.

But it was only during his long indeed but transitory reign. For the power of Charlemagne was His power personal. altogether personal, and therefore unenduring: it belonged to the man, to the conqueror, to the legislator, to the patron of letters and art, to Charles the Great. At his death the Empire inevitably fell to pieces, only to be re-united occasionally and partially by some one great successor like Otho I., or some great house like that of Swabia. It was the first and last successful attempt to consolidate, under one vast empire,

the Teutonic and Roman races, the nations of pure German origin and those whose languages showed the predominance of the Roman descent. It had its inherent elements of anarchy and of weakness in the first principles of the Teutonic character, the independence of the separate races, the vague notions of succession, which fluctuated between elective and hereditary sovereignty with the evils of both; the Empire transmitted into feeble hands by inheritance, or elections contested by one-half the Empire; above all, in the ages immediately following Charlemagne, the separation of the Empire into independent kingdoms, which became the appanages of several sons, in general the most deadly enemies to each other. It was no longer, it could not be, a single realm united by one wide-embracing administration, but a system of hostile and conflicting states, of which the boundaries, the powers, the wealth, the resources, were in incessant change and vicissitude.

The Papacy must await its time, a time almost certain to arrive. The Papacy, too, had its own source of weakness, the want of a settled and ^{The Papacy.} authoritative elective body. It had its periods of anarchy, of menaced—it might seem, at the close of the tenth century, inevitable—dissolution. But it depended not on the sudden and accidental rise of great men to its throne. It knew no minorities, no divisions or subdivisions of its power between heirs of coequal and therefore conflicting rights. It was a succession of mature men; and the interests of the higher ranks of its subjects, of the hierarchy, even of the great ecclesiastical potentates throughout the West, were so bound up with his own, that the Pope had not to strive against sovereigns as powerful as himself. Till the times of the anti-popes the papal power, though often obscured, especially in

Rome itself, appeared to the world as one and indivisible. Its action was almost uniform; at least it had all the steadiness and inflexibility of a despotism—a despotism, if not of force, of influence, of sympathy, and of cordial concurrence among all its multifarious agencies throughout the world to its aggrandisement.

But the empire of Charlemagne, as being the great epoch in the annals of Latin Christendom, demands more full consideration. Out of his universal Empire in the West and out of his Institutes rose, to a great degree, the universal empire of the Church and the whole mediæval polity; feudalism itself. Western Europe became, as it were, one through his conquests, which gathered within its frontiers all the races of Teutonic origin (except the formidable Northmen, or Normans, who, after endangering its existence, or at least menacing the re-barbarising of many of its kingdoms, were to be the founders of kingdoms within its pale), and those conquests even encroached on some tribes of Slavian descent. It became a world within the world; on more than one side bordered by Mohammedanism, on one by the hardly less foreign Byzantine Empire. The history, therefore, of Latin Christianity must survey the character of the founder of this Empire, the extent of his dominions, his civil as well as his ecclesiastical institutes. As yet we have only traced him in his Italian conquests, as the ally and protector of the Popes. He must be seen as the sovereign and law-giver of Transalpine as well as of Cisalpine Europe.*

Karl, according to his German appellation, was the model of a Teutonic chieftain, in his gigantic stature, enormous strength, and indefatigable activity; temperate

* Eginhard, Vit. Car. sub fine.

in diet, and superior to the barbarous vice of drunkenness. Hunting and war were his chief occupations; and his wars were carried on with all the ferocity of encountering savage tribes. But he was likewise a Roman Emperor, not only in his vast and organising policy, he had that one vice of the old Roman civilisation which the Merovingian kings had indulged, though not perhaps with more unbounded lawlessness. The religious Emperor, in one respect, troubled not himself with the restraints of religion. The humble or grateful Church beheld meekly, and almost without remonstrance, the irregularity of domestic life, which not merely indulged in free licence, but treated the sacred rite of marriage as a covenant dissoluble at his pleasure. Once we have heard, and but once, the Church raise its authoritative, its comminatory voice, and that not to forbid the King of the Franks from wedding a second wife while his first was alive, but from marrying a Lombard princess. One pious ecclesiastic alone in his dominions, he a relative, ventured to protest aloud. Charles repudiated his first wife to marry the daughter of Desiderius; and after a year repudiated her to marry Hildegard, a Swabian lady. By Hildegard he had six children. On her death he married Fastrada, who bore him two; a nameless concubine another. On Fastrada's death he married Liutgardis, a German, who died without issue. On her decease he was content with four concubines.^d A darker suspicion, arising out of the loose character of his daughters, none of whom he allowed to marry, but carried them about with him to the camp as well as the

The character
of Charle-
magne.

^d The reading is doubtful. Bouquet has *quatuor*. Pertz has followed a MS. which gives three.

court, has been insinuated, but without the least warrant from history. Under the same double character of the Teutonic and the Roman Emperor, Charlemagne introduced Roman arts and civilisation into the remoter parts of his dominions. Aix-la-Chapelle, his capital, became, in buildings and in the marble and mosaic decorations of his palace, a Roman city, in which Karl sat in the midst of his Teutonic Diet. The patron of Latin letters, the friend of Alcuin, encouraged the compilation of a grammar in the language of his Teutonic subjects. The hero of the Saxon poet's Latin hexameter panegyric collected the old bardic lays of Germany. Even Charlemagne's fierce wars bore Christianity and civilisation in their train.

The Saxon wars of Charlemagne, which added almost the whole of Germany to his dominions, were
: Saxon wars.
 avowedly religious wars. If Boniface was the Christian, Charlemagne was the Mohammedan, Apostle of the Gospel. The declared object of his invasions, according to his biographer, was the extinction of heathenism;° subjection to the Christian faith or extermination.† Baptism was the sign of subjugation and fealty: the Saxons accepted or threw it off according as they were in a state of submission or of revolt. These wars were inevitable; they were but the continuance of the great strife waged for centuries from the barbarous North and East, against the civilised South and West; only that the Roman and Christian popula-

° Some of the heathen Frisian temples appear to have contained much wealth. St. Luidger was sent out to destroy some. His followers brought back a considerable treasure, which they found in the temples. Charlemagne took two-thirds, and gave or-

to the Church.—Vit. S. Luidg. apud Pertz, ii. p. 408.

† “Eo usque perseveravit, dum aut victi Christianæ religioni subicerentur aut omnino tollerentur.”—Eginhard, sub ann. 775.

tion, now invigorated by the large infusion of Teutonic blood, instead of awaiting aggression, had become the aggressor. The tide of conquest was rolling back ; the subjects of the Western kingdoms, of the Western Empire, instead of waiting to see their homes overrun by hordes of fierce invaders, now boldly marched into the heart of their enemies' country, penetrated the forests, crossed the morasses, and planted their feudal courts of justice, their churches, and their monasteries in the most remote and savage regions, up to the Elbe and the shores of the Baltic.

The Saxon race now occupied the whole North of Germany, from the Baltic along the whole Eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. The Saxons.

The interior of the land was yet an unknown world, both as to extent and population. Vast forests, in which it was said that squirrels might range for leagues without dropping to the ground,^s broken only by wide heaths, sandy moors, and swamps, were peopled by swarms which still were thought inexhaustible. These countless hosts, which seemed but the first wave of a yet undiminished flood, might still precipitate themselves or be precipitated by the impulse of nations from the further North or East, on the old Roman empire and the advanced settlements beyond the Rhine. The Saxons were divided into three leading tribes, the Ostphalians, the Westphalians, and the Angarians ; but each clan or village maintained its independence, waged war, or made peace. Each clan, according to old Teutonic usage, consisted of nobles, freemen, and slaves ; but at times the whole nation met in a great armed convention. A deadly hatred had grown up between

^s Vit. S. Lebuini.

the Franks and Saxons, inevitable between two warlike and restless races, separated by a doubtful and unmarked border, on vast level plains, with no natural boundary, neither dense forests, nor a chain of mountains, nor any large river or lake.^h The Saxons were not likely, when an opportunity of plunder or even of daring adventure might offer itself, to respect the frontier of their more civilised neighbours; or the Franks to abstain from advancing their own limits wherever the land offered any advantage for a military, commercial, or even religious outpost. But it was not merely this casual hostility of two adventurous and unquiet people, encountering on a long and doubtful border—the Saxons scorned and detested the Romanised Franks, the Franks held the Saxons to be barbarians and heathens. The Saxons no doubt saw in the earlier and peaceful Christian missionaries the agents of Frankish as well as of Christian conquest. Even where their own religion hung so loosely on their minds, they could not but be suspicious of foreigners who began by undermining their national faith, and might end in endangering the national independence. They beheld with impatience and jealousy the churches and monasteries, which gradually rose near to, upon, and within their frontier; though probably the connexion of the missionaries with the Romanised Franks, rather than the religion itself, which otherwise they might have admitted with the usual indifference of barbarians, principally excited their animosity.

The first expedition of Charlemagne against the

* "Suberant et causæ, quæ quodidie pacem conturbare poterant, termini videlicet nostri et illorum pæne ubique in plano contigui, præter pauca loca in quibus, vel silvæ majores, vel montium juga interjecta utrorumque agros certo limite determinant, et rapinæ et incendia vicissim fieri non cessabant." — Eginhard, Vit. Carol. cvil.

Saxons before his Lombard conquest arose out of religion. Among the English missionaries who, First Saxon invasion. A.D. 772. no doubt from speaking a kindred language, were so successful among the Teutonic tribes, was St. Lebuin, a man of the most intrepid zeal. Though the oratory which he had built on the Saxon bank of the Ysell had been burned by the Saxons, he determined to confront the whole assembled nation in their great diet on the Weser. Charles was holding at the same time his Field of May at Worms: this Saxon diet might be a great national council to watch or obtain intelligence of his proceedings.¹ The Saxons were in the act of solemn worship and sacrifice, when Lebuin stood up in the midst, proclaimed himself the messenger of the one true God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and denounced the folly and impiety of their idolatries.² He urged them to repentance, to belief, to baptism, and promised as their reward temporal and eternal peace. So far the Saxons seemed to have listened with decent or awe-struck reverence; but when Lebuin ceased to speak in this more peaceful tone, and declared that, if they refused to obey, God would send against them a mighty and unconquerable King who would punish their contumacy, lay waste their land with fire and sword, and make slaves of their wives and children, the proud barbarians broke out into the utmost fury; they threatened the dauntless missionary with stakes and stones: his life was saved only by the intervention of an aged chieftain. The old man insisted on the sanctity which belonged to all ambassadors, above all the ambassadors of a great God.

¹ May, however, was probably the usual month for the German national assemblies.

² Vit. S. Lebuini, apud Pertz.

The acts and language of Charles showed that he warred at once against the religion and the freedom of ancient Germany. Assembling his army at

The Irminsul.

Worms, he crossed the Rhine, and marched upon the Eresburg, a strong fortress near the Drimel.^m Having taken this, he advanced to a kind of religious capital, either of the whole Saxon nation or at least of the more considerable tribes. It was situated near the source of the Lippe,ⁿ and contained the celebrated idol, the Irmin-Saule.^o

This may have been simply the great pillar, the trunk of a gigantic tree, consecrated by immemorial reverence, or the name may imply the war-god, or the parental-god, or demi-god of the race. This notion suits better with the simpler description of the idol in the older writers. This rude and perhaps, therefore, not less imposing idol, has been exalted into a great symbolic image, either of the national deity or of the nation, arrayed in fanciful attributes, which seem to belong to a later mythology;^p and German patriotism has delighted to recognise in this image consecrated by the Teutonic worship, that of the great Teutonic hero, Herman, the conqueror of Varus. Throughout the neighbourhood the names and places are said to bear

^m Supposed Stadbergen, in the bishopric of Paderborn.

ⁿ Eckhart (Pertz, p. 151) says distinctly that it was some way beyond the Eresburg.

^o Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 81 *et seq.*, 208 *et seq.*, "Irmānsaul, colossus, altissima columna." He quotes Rudolf of Fulda: "Truncum quoque ligni non parvæ magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patriâ eum linguâ Irminsul appel-

lantes, quod Latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia." Yet Irmin seems to have been the name of a national god or demi-god.

^p He was clothed in armour; his feet rested on a field of flowers; in his right hand he held a banner with a rose in the centre, in his left a balance; on his buckler was a lion commanding other animals.—Spelman, in Irminsul.

frequent and manifest allusion to this great victory over Rome,—the field of victory, the stream of blood, the stream of the bones. Not far off is the field of Rome, the mountain of Arminius, the forest of Varus.[¶]

But whether rude and shapeless trunk, or symbolic image of the Saxon god, or the statue of the Teutonic hero, the Irmin-Saule fell by the remorseless hands of the Christian Frank.[†]

The war of the Franks and the Saxons lasted for thirty-three years;[‡] it had all the horrors of an internecine strife between two hordes of barbarians. The armies of Charles were almost always masters of the field; but no sooner were they withdrawn than the indefatigable Saxons rose again, burst through the encroaching limits of the Empire, and often reached its more peaceful settlements. Hardly more than two years after the capture of Eresburg, and of their more sacred place, the site of the Irmin-Saule, they revenged the destruction of their great idol by burning, or attempting to burn, the church in Fritzlar, founded by St. Boniface. It was said to have Aug. 1, 775. been saved by the miraculous appearance of two angels in white garments; possibly two of the younger ecclesiastics.[§] In their inroads they respected neither age,

¶ The neighbourhood of Dethmold abounds with these sacred reminiscences. At the foot of the Teutberg is Wintfield, the field of victory; the Rodenbach, the stream of blood; and the Knochenbach, where the bones of the followers of Varus were found. Feldrom, the field of the Romans, is at no great distance. Rather farther off, near Pyrmont, Hermansberg, the mountain of Arminius and on the

banks of the Weser, Varenholz, the wood of Varus.—Stepfer., art. Arminius, in Biograph. Universelle.

† Luden is indignant at the destruction of this monument of German freedom by the renegade Charlemagne.—Geschichte, iv. p. 234.

‡ From 772 to 805.

§ Ann. Franc., A.D. 774. Bouquet, p. 19.

nor sex, nor order, nor sacred edifice; all was wrapped in one blaze of fire, in one deluge of blood. But their especial fury was directed against the monasteries and churches. Widekind, the hero of these earlier exploits, was no less deadly an enemy of Christianity than of the Franks. He began his career by destroying all the Christian settlements in Friesland, and restoring the whole land to heathenism.*

The historians of Charlemagne denounce the perfidy of the Saxons to the most solemn engagements; but in fact there was no supreme government which had the power or could be answerable for the fulfilment of treaties. Each village had its chieftain and its freemen, independent of the rest; the tribes whose land Charles occupied, or whose forests he menaced, submitted to the yoke, but those beyond them held themselves in no way bound by such treaties.*

After a few years, at a great Diet at Paderborn, the whole nation seemed to obey the summons of Charles to acknowledge him as their liege lord. Multitudes were baptized; and all the more considerable tribes gave hostages for their peaceful conduct.

Yet but two years after, on the news of Charlemagne's defeat at Rorcesvalles, they appeared again in arms, with the indefatigable Widekind at

* The Saxon Campaigns, according to Boehmer, *Regesta*: 1. Taking of Eresburg, A.D. 772. 2. Charlemagne crosses the Weser, Aug. 776. 3. To the Lippe, 776. 4. Diet of Paderborn, 777. 5. Revolt of Saxons, who waste as far as the Moselle, 778. 6. Advance to the Weser, 779. 7. To the Elbe, 780. 8. Diet at Lippe Brunnen. 9. Capitulation of the Saxons, 782. 10. Great victory at Thietmar, 783.

11. Readvance to the Elbe. 12. Further campaign, 784. 13. Widekind surrenders, and is baptised, 785. There were, however, later insurrections, and later progresses of Charlemagne through the subjugated land.

“ Quis nec rege fuit saltem sociata sub uno
Ut se militum pariter defenderet usu,
Sed variis divisa modis plebs omni
habebat
Quot pagos tot pæne duces.”
Poeta Saxo, ad ann. 772, v. 24.

their head: he alone had kept aloof from the Diet at Paderborn, having taken refuge, it was said, with the King of Denmark, no doubt beyond the Elbe. Notwithstanding their baptism and the hostages, they reached the Rhine, ravaging as they went, threatened Cologne from Deutz, and were only prevented from invading France by the difficulty of crossing the river; along its right bank they burned and slaughtered from Cologne to Coblentz. This sudden outburst was followed by the most formidable revolt, put down by Charles's victories at Dethmold and near the river Hase. Throughout the war Charlemagne endeavoured to subdue the tribes as he went on by the terror of his arms; and terrible indeed were those arms! On one occasion, at Verden-on-the-Aller, he massacred 4000 brave warriors who had surrendered, in cold blood. Nor did he trust to the humanising influence of Christianity alone, but to the diffusion of Roman manners, and what might appear Roman luxury. The more submissive chieftains he tried to attach to his person by honours and by presents. The poor Saxons first became acquainted with the produce of wealthy Gaul. To some he gave farms, whence they were tempted and enabled to purchase splendid dresses, learned the use of money, the pleasures of wine.⁷

His frontier gradually advanced. In his first expedition he had crossed the Drimel and the Lippe, and reached the Weser; but twelve years of alternate victory and revolt had passed before he arrived at the Elbe. In four years more, during which Widekind himself submitted to baptism, although the unquiet people still

⁷ "Prædia præstiterat cum rex compluribus illis
Ex quibus acciperent pretiosæ tegmina vestis,
Argenti cumulos, dulcisque fluentia Lyæi."

Posta Sævo, iv. 130

renewed their revolt, he reached the sea, the limit of the Saxon territory.²

The policy of Charlemagne in the establishment of Christianity in the remote parts of Germany was perhaps wisely incongruous. Though wars of religion, they were waged entirely by the secular arm. He encouraged no martial prelate to appear at the head of his vassals, or to join in the work of bloodshed. On no point are his edicts more strong, more frequent, or more precise, than in prohibiting the clergy from bearing arms, or joining any military expedition.³ They followed in the wake of war, but did not mingle in it. A few priests only remained with the camp to perform divine service, and to offer ministrations to the soldiers. The religion, though forced upon the conquered, though baptism was the only security (a precarious security, as it often proved) which the conqueror would accept for the submission of the vanquished, yet this was part of the treaty of peace, and as a pledge of peace was fitly performed by the ministers of peace. The conquest was complete, the carnage over, before the priests were summoned to their office to baptise the multitudes, who submitted to it as the chance of war, as they would to the surrender of property or of personal freedom. For this baptism no preparation was deemed

² "Usque ad oceanum trans omnes paludes et in via loca transitum est."—Ann. Tiliac. sub ann.

³ "Hortatu omnium fidelium nostrorum et maxime episcoporum et reliquorum sacerdotum consultu, servis Dei per omnia omnibus armaturam portare vel pugnare, aut in exercitum et in hostem pergere, omnino prohibemus, nisi illi tantummodo qui

propter divinum ministerium."—Caroli M. Capit. General. A.D. 769. Carloman, A.D. 742, Pepin, 744, had made similar enactments; but it appears that the restraint was unwelcome to some of the more warlike of the order. Charlemagne was supposed to detract from their dignity by prohibiting them from bearing arms.

necessary; the barbarians assented by thousands to the creed, and were immediately immersed or sprinkled with the regenerating waters. The clergy on the other hand were exposed to the fury of the insurgent people on every revolt: to hew down the crosses was the first sign that the Saxons renounced allegiance, and baptism was, according to their notion, cancelled by the renunciation of allegiance.

The subjugation of the land appeared complete before Charlemagne founded successively his great religious colonies, the eight bishoprics of Foundations of bishoprics and monasteries. Minden, Seligenstadt, Verden, Bremen,^b Munster, Hildesheim, Osnaburg, and Paderborn. These, with many richly-endowed monasteries, like Herzfeld, became the separate centres from which Christianity and civilisation spread in expanding circles. But though these were military as well as religious settlements, the ecclesiastics were the only foreigners. The more faithful and trustworthy Saxon chieftains, who gave the security of seemingly sincere conversion to Christianity, were raised into Counts; thus the profession of Christianity was the sole test of fealty. The Saxon remained a conquered, but in some respects an independent nation; it was ruled by a feudal nobility and a feudal hierarchy. The Saxons paid no tribute to the empire: Charlemagne was content with their payment of tithes to the clergy,—a part of his ecclesiastical system, which was extended throughout his Transalpine dominions. Yet even after this period another great general insurrection broke out while Charles was engaged in a war with the Avars; the churches were destroyed, dreadful ravages committed. The revolt

^b Bremen, founded July 14, 787.

arose partly from the severe avarice with which the clergy exacted their tithes, and the impatience of the rude Germans at this unusual taxation. It was not till ten thousand men had been transplanted from the banks of the Elbe into France that the contest came to an end. The gratitude of the Saxon poet, who wrote under the Emperor Arnulf, for the conversion of his ancestors to Christianity, dwells but slightly on the sanguinary means used for their conversion, and their obstinate resistance to his persuasive sword. On the day of judgement, when the Apostles render an account of the nations which they have converted, when Charlemagne is followed into heaven by the hosts of his Saxon proselytes, the poet expresses his humble hope that he may be admitted in the train.*

Charlemagne, in Christian history, commands a more important station even than for his subjugation of Germany to the Gospel, on account of his complete organisation, if not foundation, of the high feudal hierarchy in great part of Europe. Throughout the Western Empire was, it may be said, constitutionally established this double aristocracy, ecclesiastical and civil. Everywhere the higher clergy and the nobles, and so downwards through the different gradations of society, were of the same rank, liable to many of the same duties, of equal, in some cases of co-ordinate, authority. Each district had its Bishop and its Count; the dioceses and counties were mostly of the same extent. They held for some purposes common courts, for others had separate jurisdiction, but of co-equal power.

At the summit of each social pyramid, which rose by

* "Tum Carolum gaudens Saxonum turba sequatur
illi perpetuas gloria lætitias;

O utinam vel cunctorum sequar ultimus horum"—v 685

the same steps from the common base, the vast servile class, which each ruled with the right of master and possessor, or that of serfs attached to the soil, which were gradually succeeding to the baser and more wretched slavery of the Roman Empire,^d stood the Sovrans, the Emperor, and the Pope. So at least it was in later times. At present Charlemagne stood alone on his unapproachable height. As monarch of the Franks, as King of Italy, still more as Emperor of the West, he was supreme, the Pope his humble grateful subject. Charlemagne, with the title, assumed the imperial power of a Theodosius or a Justinian. His legislation embraces ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. In the general assembly, of which, with the nobles, they were constituent parts, the assent of the bishops may be expressed or implied; but the laws which fix the obligations, the revenues, even the duties of the clergy, are issued in the name of the Emperor; they are monarchical and imperial, not papal or synodical canons. Already, indeed, the principles on which the loftier pretensions of the Church were hereafter to be grounded, had crept imperceptibly in under the specious form of religious ceremonies. The very title to the Frankish monarchy, the Empire itself, had to the popular view something of a papal gift. The anointing of the Kings of France had become almost necessary for the full popular recognition of the royal title.^e The part taken by the Pope in the offer of the Empire to Charlemagne,

^d On the slow and gradual transition from slavery to serfdom and villeinage, see Mr. Hallam's supplemental note 79, and the remarkable quotation from M. Guerard.

^e The Old Testament, which had suggested and sanctioned this ceremony,

had become of equal authority with the New. The head of the Church was not merely the successor of the chief apostle. He was the high priest of the old Law, Samuel or Jonas as well as St. Peter.

his coronation by the hands of the Pope in the same manner, gave a vague notion, a notion to be matured by time, that it was a Papal grant. He who could bestow could withhold; and, as it was afterwards maintained, he who could elevate could degrade; he who could crown could discrown the Emperor.

But over the Transalpine clergy, Charlemagne had not only the general authority of a Teutonic monarch and a Roman Emperor, he had likewise the same feudal sovereignty, founded on the same principles, which he had over the secular nobility.

Their estates were held on the same tenure; they had been invested in them, especially in Germany, according to the old Teutonic law of conquest. Every conquered territory, or a portion of it, became the possession of the conquerors; it was a vast farm, granted out in lots, on certain conditions; the king reserved certain portions as the royal domain, others were granted to the warriors (the leudes), under the title first of allodes, which gradually became benefices.[†] But bishoprics and abbacies were originally, or became, in the strictest sense benefices. The great ecclesiastics took the same oath with other vassals on a change of sovereign. They were bound, bishops, abbots and abbesses, to appear at the Herr-bann of the sovereign. Charlemagne submits them without distinction to the

[†] French learning, especially that of M. Guizot, of M. Lehuierou, and of the authors of the prefaces to the valuable volumes of the 'Documents Inédits,' has exhausted every subject relating to the national and social institutions of the prefeudal and feudal times; the ranks and orders of men; the growth of the cities; their guilds and privileges; the particular tenure and obligations of land. Mr. Hallam has diligently watched, and in his supplemental notes summed up with his characteristic strong English sense and fairness, the results of all these vast and voluminous inquiries; not only those of France, but those of Belgium, England, Italy, Germany.

visitation of his officers, who are to make inquest as to their due performance of their duties as beneficiaries, the maintenance not merely of the secular buildings, but also of the churches, and the due solemnisation of the divine offices.^g The men of the church were bound to obey the summons to military service, as duly as any other liegemen, only that they marched under a lay captain. The same number were allowed to stay at home to cultivate the land. The great prelates, even in the days of Charlemagne, resisted the laws which prohibited their appearing in war at the head of their own troops, as lowering their dignity, and depriving the Church of some of its honours.^h Bishops and abbots, in return for the oath of protection from the sovereign, took an oath of fealty as counsellors and as aids to the sovereign; but the great proof of this ecclesiastical vassalage is that they were amenable to the law of treason, were deposed as guilty of violating their allegiance.ⁱ

^g "Volumus atque jubemus ut missi nostri per singulos pagos prævidere studeant omnia beneficia quæ nostri et aliorum homines habere videntur, quomodo restaurata sint post annuntiationem nostram sive destructa. Primum de ecclesiis, quomodo structæ aut destructæ sint in tectis, in maceriis, sive parietibus, sive in pavimentis, necnon in picturâ, etiam in luminariis, sive officiis. Similiter et alia beneficia, casas cum omnibus appendiciis eorum." — K. Magn. Cap. Aquense, A.D. 807; Lehuierou, p. 517.

^h "Quia instigante antiquo hoste audivimus quosdam nos suspectos habere, propterea quod concessimus episcopis et sacerdotibus ac reliquis Dei servis ut in hostes . . . non irent

. . . nec agitadores sanguinum fierent . . . quod honores sacerdotum et res ecclesiarum auferre vel minuere voluissemus." — Cap. Incert. Ann.; Lehuierou, 520.

ⁱ "Promitto et perdono vobis . . . defensionem, quantum potero, adjuvante Domino, exhibebo . . . ut vos mihi secundum Deum et secundum sæculum sic fideles adjutores et consilio et auxilio sitis sicut vestri antecessores boni meis melioribus prædecessoribus extiterunt." — Promiss. Dom. Karlomanni regis, A.D. 882; Lehuierou, p. 519. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, was deposed as traitor to Louis the Debonnaire; Tertollus, Bishop of Bayeux, was accused of treason against Charles the Bald. — Bouquet.

Charlemagne himself was no less prodigal than weaker kings of immunities and grants of property to churches and monasteries. With his queen Hildegard he endows the church of St. Martin, in Tours, with lands in Italy. His grants to St. Denys, to Lorch, to Fulda, to Prum, more particularly to Herzfeld, and many Italian abbeys, appear among the acts of his reign.*

Nor were these estates always obtained from the pious generosity of the king or the nobles. The stewards of the poor were sometimes the spoilers of the poor. Even under Charlemagne there are complaints against the usurpation of property by bishops and abbots, as against counts and laymen. They compelled the poor free man to sell his property, or forced him to serve in the army, and that on permanent or continual duty, and so to leave his land either without owner, with all the chances that he might not return, or to commit it to the custody of those who remained at home in quiet and seized every opportunity of entering into possession.^m No Naboth's vineyard escaped their watchful avarice.

* See the *Regesta* in Boehmer, *passim*. Lehuierou (p. 539) gives an instance of the enormous possessions of some of the monasteries: they were larger in the north than in the south of France (compare Thierry, *Temps Mérovingiens*). The abbey of S. Wandrille, or Fontenelle, according to its chartulary, owned, less than 150 years after its foundation (A.D. 650-788), 3974 manses (the manse contained 12 jugera, acres), besides mills and other property. Compare the lands heaped on churches and monasteries by the Merovingians, p. 221.

^m "Quod pauperes se reclamant expoliatos esse de eorum proprietate;

et hoc æqualiter supra episcopos et abbates et eorum advocatos et supra comites et eorum centenarios. . . . Dicunt etiam quod quicumque proprium suum episcopo, abbati, comiti aut judici . . . dare noluerit, occasiones quærunt super illum pauperem, quomodo eum condemnare possint, et illum semper in hostem faciant iræ usque dum pauper factus, volens nolens suum proprium aut tradat aut vendat; alii vero qui traditum habent, absque ullius inquietudine domi resideant."—Kar. M. Capit. de Exped. Exercit., A.D. 811. Compare Capit. Longo bard. ap. Pertz, iii. p. 192, and Lehuierou, p. 311.

In their fiefs the bishop or abbot exercised all the rights of a feudal chieftain. At first, like all seignorial privileges, their administration was limited, and with appeal to a higher court, or in the last resort, to the king. Gradually, sometimes by silent usurpation, sometimes by actual grant, they acquired power over all causes and all persons. The right of appeal, if it existed, was difficult to exercise, was curtailed, or fell into desuetude.^a

Thus the hierarchy, now a feudal institution, parallel to and co-ordinate with the temporal feudal aristocracy, aspired to enjoy, and actually before long did enjoy, the dignity, the wealth, the power, of suzerain lords. Bishops and abbots had the independence and privileges of inalienable fiefs; and at the same time began either sullenly to contest, or haughtily to refuse, those payments or acknowledgments of vassalage, which sometimes weighed heavily on other lands. During the reign of Charlemagne this theory of spiritual immunity slumbered, or rather had not quickened into life. It was boldly (so rapid was its growth) announced in the strife with his son, Louis the Pious. It was then asserted by the hierarchy (become king-makers and king-deposers) that all property given to the Church, to the poor, and to the servants of God, or rather to the saints, to God himself (such were the specious phrases) was given absolutely, irrevocably, with no reserve. The king might have power over knight's fees, over those of the Church he had none whatever. Such

^a Compare the luminous discussion of Lehuierou, p. 243, *et seq.* The right of basse justice was inseparable from property. The bishop or abbot was head of the family; all were in his mundium. He afterwards acquired moyenne, finally haute justice. In the cities he became chief magistrate by another process.

claims were impious, sacrilegious, and implied forfeiture of eternal life. The clergy and their estates belonged to another realm, to another commonwealth; they were entirely, absolutely independent of the civil power. The clergy belonged to the Herr-bann of Christ, and of Christ alone.*

These estates, however, thus sooner or later held by feudal tenure, and liable to feudal service, were the aristocratic possessions of the ecclesiastical aristocracy; on the whole body of the clergy Charlemagne bestowed their even more vast dowry—the legal claim to tithes.[†] Already, under the Merovingians, the clergy had given significant hints that the law of Leviticus was the perpetual and unrepealed law of God.[‡] Pepin had commanded the payment of tithes for the celebration of peculiar litanies during a period of famine.[§] Charlemagne made it a law of the Empire: he enacted it in its most strict and comprehensive form, as investing the clergy in a right to the tenth of the substance and of the labour alike of freeman and of serf.[¶] The collection of tithe was regulated by compulsory statutes; the

* "Quod semel legitime consecratum est Deo, in suis militibus, et pauperibus ad usus militiæ suæ libere concedatur. Habeat igitur Rex rempublicam libere in usibus militiæ suæ ad dispensandum; habeat et Christus res ecclesiarum quasi alteram rempublicam, omnium indigentium et sibi servientium usibus. . . . Sin alias ut apostolus ait, qui aliena diripiunt, regnum non possidebunt eternum. Quanto magis qui ea quæ Dei sunt et ecclesiarum defraudantur, in quibus sacrilegia copulantur."—Vit. Walæ, apud Pertz. Walæ's doctrines were not unopposed. Compare Lehuereu,

p. 538.

† On Tithes, see Planck, ii. pp. 402 and 411.

‡ Sirmond. Concil. Eccles. Gall. i. p. 543; Council of Macon, A.D. 585.

§ Peppini Regis Capitul. A.D. 764.

¶ "Similiter secundum Dei mandatum præcipimus ut omnes decimam partem suis ecclesiis et sacerdotibus donent, tam nobiles quam ingenui, similiter et liti."—Capit. Paderborn A.D. 785. See also Cap. A.D. 779. It was confirmed by the Council of Frankfort, Capitul. Frankfurtense A.D. 794.

clergy took note of all who paid or refused to pay; * four, or eight, or more jurymen were summoned from each parish, as witnesses for the claims disputed; * the contumacious were three times summoned; if still obstinate, excluded from the church; if they still refused to pay, they were fined over and above the whole tithe, six solidi; if further contumacious, the recusant's house was shut up; if he attempted to enter it, he was cast into prison, to await the judgement of the next plea of the crown.* The tithe was due on all produce, even on animals.† The tithe was usually divided into three portions—one for the maintenance of the Church, the second for the Poor, the third for the Clergy. The bishop sometimes claimed a fourth. The bishop was the arbiter of the distribution: he assigned the necessary portion for the Church, and apportioned that of the clergy.‡ This tithe was by no means a spontaneous votive offering of the whole Christian people—it was a tax imposed by Imperial authority, enforced by Imperial power. It had caused one, if not more than one, sanguinary insurrection among the Saxons. It was submitted to in other parts of the Empire, not without strong reluctance.§

* Capit. Aquisgran. A.D. 801.

* Capitul. Longobard. A.D. 803.

† Capitul. Longobard. A.D. 803, et Capitul. Hlotharii, i. 825, et Hludovici, ii. 875.

‡ Capitul. Aquisgran. 801.

§ The tithe belonged to the parish church: that in which alone baptisms were performed. But there was a constant struggle to alienate them to churches founded by the great land-owners on their own domain, of which churches they retained the patronage. Charlemagne himself set a bad ex-

ample in this respect, alienating the tithes to the succursal churches on his own domain. — Capitul. de Villis. Compare Lehuereu, p. 489.

* Even Alcuin ventures to suggest, that if the Apostles of Christ had demanded tithes they would not have been so successful in the propagation of the Gospel:—"An Apostoli quoque ab ipso Christo edocti, et ad prædicandum mundo missi, exactiones decimarum exigissent . . . considerandum est. Scimus quia decimatio substantiæ nostræ valde bona est; et

But in return for this magnificent donation, Charle-
 Ecclesias-
 tical laws of
 Charlemagne. magne assumed the power of legislating for
 the clergy with as full despotism as for the
 laity: in both cases there was the constitutional control
 of the concurrence of the nobles and of the higher
 ecclesiastics, strong against a feeble monarch, feeble
 against a sovereign of Charlemagne's overruling cha-
 racter. His Institutes are in the language of command
 to both branches of that great ecclesiastical militia,
 which he treated as his vassals, the secular and the
 monastic clergy.^b He seemed to have a sagacious fore-
 sight of the dangers of his feudal hierarchical system;
 the tendency still further to secularise the secular
 clergy; the inclination to independence in the regulars,
 which afterwards led to the rivalry and hostility between
 the two orders. The great Church fiefs would naturally
 be coveted by men of worldly views, seeking only their
 wealth and power, without discharging their high and
 sacred offices; they would become hereditary in certain
 families, or at least within a limited class of powerful
 claimants. Each separate benefice would be exposed
 to perpetual dilapidation by its successive holders;
 there was no efficient security against the illegal aliena-
 tion of its estates to the family, kindred, or friends of
 the incumbent:^c it might be squandered in war by a
 martial, in magnificence by a princely, in rude volup-

*melius est illam amittere quam fidem
 perdere. Nos vero in fide catholica
 nati, nutriti, edocti, vix consentimus
 substantiam nostram pleniter decimare.
 Quanto magis tenera fides et infantilis
 animus, et avara mens.*—Alcuin,
Epist. apud Bouquet, l. v. Compare
 a note of Weissenberg (*Die grossen
 Kirchen Versammlungen*, vol. i. p.

178), on some curious consequences
 of enforcing the law of tithes.

^b See, on the kind of spiritual juri-
 diction exercised by former kings of
 France, Ellendorf, i. 231.

^c “*Si sacerdotes plures uxores habu-
 erint:*” that probably means married
 more than once.—*Caput. lib. i.*

tuousness by a dissolute prelate.^d Charlemagne endeavoured to bring the great monastic rule of mutual control to hallow the lives and secure the property of the clergy. The scheme of St. Augustine, that the clergy should live in common, under canonical rule, and under the immediate control and superintendence of the Bishop, had never been entirely obsolete. Charlemagne endeavoured to marshal the whole secular clergy under this severe discipline; he would have all either under canonical or monastic discipline.^e But the legislator passed his statutes in vain; rich chapters were founded, into which the secular spirit entered in other forms. The great mass of the clergy continued to lead their separate lives, under no other control than the more or less vigilant rule of the Bishop.

Charlemagne endeavoured with equal want of success to prevent the monastic establishments from growing up into separate independent republics,^{The monasteries.} bound only by their own rules, and without the pale of the episcopal or even metropolitan jurisdiction. The abbots and the monks were commanded to obey in all humility the mandates of their Bishops.^f The abbot received his power within the walls of his convent from

^d There are many sumptuary provisions. Bishops, abbots, abbesses, are not to keep hounds, falcons, hawks, or jugglers. Drunkenness is forbidden, as well as certain oaths.

• “Qui ad clericatum accedunt, quod nos nominamus canonicam vitam volumus ut episcopus eorum regat vitam. Clerici—ut vel veri monachi sint vel veri canonici.”—Capit. A.D. 789, 71 et 75. “Canonici . . . in domo episcopali vel etiam in monasterio . . . secundum canonicam vitam

erudiantur.” A.D. 802. “*Ut omnes clerici unum de duobus eligant, aut pleniter secundum canonicam, aut secundum regularem institutionem vivere debeant.*” A.D. 805.

^f “Abbates et monachos omnimodis volumus et præcipimus, ut episcopis suis omni humilitate et obedientiâ sint subjecti, sicut canonica constitutione mandati.”—Capit. Gen. A.D. 769; Hludovic. i.; Imp. Capit. Aquisgran. 825.

the hands of the Bishop; the doors of the monastery were to fly open to the Bishop; an appeal lay from the Bishop to the Metropolitan, from the Metropolitan to the Emperor.⁵ The Bishops themselves too often granted full or partial immunities, which gradually grew into absolute exemption from episcopal authority.^h In later times many of the more religious communities, to escape the tyranny and rapacity of a secular bishop, placed themselves under the protection of the King, or some powerful lord, whose tyranny in a certain time became more grinding and exacting than that of the Bishop.¹

The extent of Charlemagne's Empire may be estimated by the list of his Metropolitan Sees: ^{Extent of empire.} they were Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Friuli (Aquileia), Grado, Cologne, Mentz, Saltzburg, Treves, Sens, Besançon, Lyons, Rouen, Rheims, Arles, Vienne, Moutiers in the Tarantaise, Ivredun, Bordeaux, Tours, Bourges.^k To these Metropolitans lay the appeal in the first instance from the arbitrary power of the Bishop. This power it was the policy of Charlemagne to elevate to the utmost.^m The Capitularies enact the regular visitation of all the parishes within their diocese by

⁵ "Statutum est a domino rege et sancto synodo, ut episcopi justitias faciant in suas parrochias. Si non obedierit aliqua persona episcopo suo de *abbatibus*, presbyteris . . . *monachis* et ceteris clericis, veniant ad metropolitanum suum, et ille djudicet causam cum suffraganeis suis . . . Et si aliquid est quod episcopus metropolitanus non possit corrigere vel pacificare, tunc tandem veniant accusatores cum accusatu, cum literis metropolitani, ut sciamus veritatem: rel." —Capitul. Frankfurt. 794.

^h Lehuereu, p. 493.

¹ Daluzius, Formula 38.

^k Eginhard, c. xxxiii. The omission of Narbonne and one or two others perplexes ecclesiastical antiquarians. To these 21 archbishoprics of his realm Charlemagne in his last will bequeathed a certain legacy, two-thirds of his personal property.

^m Ellendorf (Die Karolinger) asserts that the capitularies nowhere recognise appeals to the Pope. The metropolitans and metropolitan synods were the courts of last resort, *except, it should seem, the emperors'.*

the Bishops, even those within peculiar jurisdiction.ⁿ Their special mission, besides preaching and confirmation and the suppression of heathen ceremonies, was to make inquisition into all incests, parricides, fratricides, adulteries, heresies, and all other offences against God. The Bishop on this visitation was received at the expense of the clergy and the people (he was forbidden to oppress the people by exacting more than was warranted by custom).^o The monasteries were subject to the same jurisdiction. The clergy made certain fixed payments, either in kind or money, as vassals to their superiors of the hierarchy;^p the Bishops, notwithstanding the prohibition of the canons, persisted in demanding fees for the ordination of clerks. Both these are, as it were, tokens of ecclesiastical vassalage, strikingly resembling the commuted services and the payments for investiture.

The clergy were under the absolute dominion of the Bishop; they could be deposed, expelled from communion, even punished by stripes. No priest could officiate in a diocese, or leave the diocese, without permission of the Bishop.^q

The primitive form of the election of the Bishop remained, but only the form; the popular election had, in all higher offices, faded into a shadow. That of the clergy retained for a long time more substantive reality. It was this growing feudality

Election of
bishops.

ⁿ "Similiter nostras in beneficio datas, quam et aliorum ubi reliquæ præesse videntur."—Capitular. A.D. 813.

^o Capitular. A.D. 769 and 813.

^p "Ut unum modium frumenti, et unum modium ordeï, atque unum modium vini . . . episcopi a pres-

byteris accipiant, et frisingam (a lamb) sex valentem denarios. Et si hæc non accipiant, si volunt, pro his omnibus duos solidos in denariis."—Karol. ii. Syn. apud Tolosam, A.D. 844.

^q Capitular. vi. 163. "Clerici, quos increpatio non emendaverit, verberibus coerceantur."—vii. 303.

of the Church, which, if it gave not to the sovereign the absolute right of nomination, invested him with a co-ordinate power, and made it his interest if not his royal duty to assert that power. The Metropolitan, the Bishop, the Abbot, had now a double character; he was a supreme functionary in the Church, a beneficiary in the realm. The Sovereign would not and could not abandon to popular or to ecclesiastical election the nomination to these important fiefs; Charlemagne held them in his own hands, and disposed of them according to his absolute will.

Charlemagne himself usually promoted men worthy of ecclesiastical dignity; but his successors, like the older Merovingian kings, were not superior to the ordinary motives of favour, force, passion, or interest; they were constantly environed by greedy and rapacious candidates for Church preferments; helmeted warriors on a sudden became mitred prelates, needy adventurers wealthy abbots. Still was the Church degraded, enslaved, disqualified for her own office, by her power and wealth. The successors of Boniface, and his missionary clergy on the shores of the Rhine, became gradually, as they grew rich and secure, like the Merovingian hierarchy who had offended the austere virtue of Boniface. The pious and death-defying men whom Charlemagne planted in his new bishoprics and abbeys in the heart of Germany, with the opulence assumed the splendour, princely pride, secular habits, of their rival nobles. Even his son witnessed and suffered by the rapid, inevitable, melancholy change.

The parochial clergy were still appointed by the election of the clergy of the district, with the assent of the people; the Bishop nominated only in case a fit person was not found by those with

Parochial
clergy.

whom lay the ordinary election.* Nor could he be removed unless legally convicted of some offence. Yet even in France there was probably not as yet a regular, and by no means an universal division of parishes; certainly not in the newly-conquered dominions. They were either chapels endowed, and appointed to by some wealthy prince or noble (the chaplain dwelt within the castle-walls, and officiated to the immediate retainers or surrounding vassals); or the churches were served from some cathedral or conventual establishment, where the clergy either lived together according to canonical rule, or were members of the conventual body. The Bishop alone had in general the title to the distribution of the tithes, one-third, usually, to himself and his clergy (of his clergy's necessities and his own he was the sole, not always impartial or liberal judge); one to the Fabric, the whole buildings of the See; one to the Poor. Each, however, in his narrower sphere, and according to his personal influence, the devotion or respect of his people, had his sources of wealth; the gifts and oblations, the fees, which were often prohibited but always prohibited in vain. The free gratuity became an usage, usage custom, custom right. Where spiritual life and death depended on priestly ministration, that which love and reverence might not be strong enough to lure forth would be wrung from fear. Where the holy image might be veiled, the relique withdrawn from worship, the miracle unperformed, to say nothing of the actual ritual services, the priest might exact the oblation.

* "Et primum quidem ipsius loci presbyteri, vel cæteri clerici, idoneum sibi rectorem eligant; deinde populi qui ad eandem plebem aspiciunt, sequatur assensus. Si autem in ipsâ plebe talis inveniri non poterit, qui illud opus competenter peragere possit, tunc episcopus de suis quem idoneum judicaverit, inibi constituit."—Hludowici, ii. 170. Convent. Ticin. A.D. 855

Whether from the higher or lower, the purer or more sordid motive, neither the land nor the tithes of the Church were the measure of the popular tribute. While, on the other hand, the alms of the clergy themselves out of their own revenues, those bestowed at their instance by the wealthy, by the princely or the vulgar robber as an atonement or commutation for his sins, the bequests made on the death-bed of the most wicked as well as the most holy, re-distributed a vast amount of that fund of riches—if not wisely, at least without stint, without cessation.

Yet, no doubt, by the deference which Charlemagne paid to the clergy, by his own somewhat ostentatious religion, by his munificent grants and donations, above all by his elevation of their character through his wise legislation, however imperfect or unenduring the success of his laws, Charlemagne raised the hierarchical power far more than he depressed it by submitting it to his equal autocracy. There was no humiliation in being, with the rest of Western Christendom, subject to Charlemagne. Even if the Church did feel some temporary obscuration of her authority, some slight limitation of her independence, conscious of her own strength, she might be her own silent prophet of her future emancipation and more than emancipation.

The Council of Frankfort displays most fully the power assumed by Charlemagne over the hierarchy as well as the lay nobility of the realm, the mingled character, the all-embracing comprehensiveness of his legislation. The assembly at Frankfort was at once a Diet or Parliament of the Realm and an ecclesiastical Council. It took cognizance alternately of matters purely ecclesiastical and of matters as clearly secular. Charlemagne was present and presided

Council of
Frankfort.

in the Council of Frankfort.^a The canons as well as the other statutes were issued chiefly in his name. The Council was attended by a great number of bishops from every part of the Western Empire, from Italy, Germany, Gaul, Aquitaine, some (of whom A.D. 794. Alcuin was the most distinguished, though Alcuin was now chiefly resident at the court of Charlemagne) from Britain. Two bishops, named Theophylact and Stephen, appeared as legates from Pope Hadrian. The powerful Hadrian was still on the throne, in the last year of his pontificate, when Charlemagne summoned and presided over this Diet-Council.

The first object of this Council was the suppression of a new heresy, and the condemnation of its authors, certain Spanish bishops. Nestorianism, which had been a purely Oriental heresy, now appeared in a new form in the West. Two Spanish prelates, Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, Bishop of Urgel (whether to conciliate their Mohammedan masters,^t or trained to more than usual subtlety by communication with Arabian writers),^u had framed a new scheme, according to which, while they firmly maintained the co-equality of the Son as to his divine nature, they asserted that, as to his humanity, Christ was but the adopted Son of the Father. Hence the name of the new sect, the Adoptians. It was singular that, while the Greeks exhausted

^a "Præcipiente et præsidente piissimo et gloriosissimo domino nostro Carolo rege."—Synod. ad Episc. Gall. et German. Labbe, 1032. Charles himself writes: "Congregationi sacerdotum auditor et arbiter adsedi."—Car. Magn. Epist. ad Episc. Hisp.

^b Charlemagne expresses his sympathy with the oppression of Elipand under the Gentiles: "Vestram quam

patimini inter gentes lacrymabili gemitu condoleamus oppressionem." But his language almost implies that he considers them as subjects of his Empire, as well as subjects of the Church. Urgel, near the Pyrenees, was in the dominions of Charlemagne.

^c According to Alcuin, the scheme had originated in certain writers at Cordova.—Alcuin, Epist. v. 11, 5.

the schools of rhetoric for distinctive terms applicable to the Godhead, the Western form of the heresy chose its phraseology from the Roman law. This strange theory had been embraced by a great number of proselytes.* Felix of Urgel, a subject of Charlemagne, had already been summoned before a synod at Ratisbon, at

A.D. 752.

which presided Charles himself. Felix recanted his heresy, and swore never to teach it more. He was sent to Rome, imprisoned by order of Pope Hadrian, and condemned to sign and twice most solemnly to swear to his abandonment of his opinions. He resumed his bishopric, and returned to his errors; he was again prosecuted, and took refuge among the Saracens.

The doctrines of Elipand and Felix were condemned as wicked and impious with the utmost unanimity. Already Pope Hadrian, in a letter to the Bishops of Spain and Gallicia, had condemned these opinions; but the Emperor, not content with communicating the unanimous decision of the Pope and the Bishops of Italy, of those of Gaul and Germany, with certain wise and holy doctors whom he had summoned from Britain, thinks it necessary to address the condemned bishops in his own name. He enters into the theology of the question; and it must be said that both the divinity and the mild and even affectionate tone of the royal letter are much superior to that of Pope Hadrian and of the Italian bishops.†

* S. Leidrad is said to have converted 20,000 bishops, priests, monks, laymen, men and women.—Paullin. *Epist. ad Episc. Arno.* edited by Mabillon. Compare Walch, p. 743. Leo III. *Epist.*; Alcuin, v. 11, 7;

other authorities in Walch, ix. p. 752. Walch wrote a history of the Adoptionists.

† According to the report of the Italian bishops, a letter arrived from Elipand of Toledo while Charlemagne

But the more important act of the Council of Frankfort was the rejection of the Second Council of Nicæa, or, as it was inaccurately called, the Council of Constantinople. To this Council the East had given its assent. It had been sanctioned by Pope Hadrian, it spoke the opinions of successive pontiffs, it might be considered as the established law of Christendom. This law Charlemagne and his assembly of feudal prelates scrupled not to annul and abrogate. Image-worship in the East had gained the victory, and was endeared to the Byzantine Greeks as distinguishing them more decidedly from the iconoclastic Mohammedans (the Image-worshippers branded Iconoclasm as Mohammedanism). It had a strong hold on all the population of Southern Europe, as the land of the yet unextinguished arts, as the birth-place of the new polytheistic Christianity, but it was far less congenial to the Teutonic mind. The Franks were at war with the Saxon idolaters; and though there was no great similitude between the rude and shapeless deities of the Teutonic forests and the carved or painted saints and angels of the existing Christian worship, yet, though with the passion of most savage nations for ornament and splendour the Franks delighted in the brilliant decorations of their churches (Charlemagne laid Italy under contribution to adorn his palace); still their more profound spirituality of conception, their inclination to the vague, the mystic, the indefinite, or their unhabituated deadness to the influence of art, made them revolt from that ardent devotion to images which pre-

was sent in his palace in the midst of his clergy. It was read aloud. At its close the imperial theologian immediately rose from his throne, and from its steps addressed the meeting in a long speech, refuting all the doctrines of Elipand. When he had ended, he inquired, "What think ye of this?"—Epist. Episcop. Ital. apud Labbe, p. 1022.

veiled throughout the South. Such at least was the disposition of Charlemagne himself, and the author of the Carolinian Books.

Constantine Copronymus, the Iconoclast, had endeavoured to make an alliance with Pepin the Frank. ^{A.D. 767.} Pepin held a council on image-worship at Gentilly, at which the ambassadors of Copronymus appeared, it is not known for what ostensible purposes, perhaps to negotiate a matrimonial union between the courts, but no doubt with the view to detach Pepin from the support of the Italian rebels to the Eastern Empire. Of these the real head was the Pope, whose refusal of allegiance to the Emperor, and alliance with the Franks, were defended on the plea that the Emperor was an iconoclast and a heretic. Pepin probably took no great pains to understand the religious question; in that he was content to acquiesce in the judgement of the Pope; nor were the offers of Constantine sufficiently tempting to incline him to break up his Italian policy. Image-worship remained an undecided question with the Franks.

But Charlemagne and the Council of Frankfort proclaimed their deliberate judgement on a question already, it might seem, decided by a Council which aspired to be thought Œcumenic, and by the notorious sanction of more than one Pope. The canon of the Council of Frankfort overstates the decrees of Nicæa. It arraigns that synod as commanding, under the pain of anathema, the same service and adoration to be paid to the images as to the Divine Trinity. This adoration they reject with contempt, and condemn with one voice. But the brief decree of Frankfort must be considered in connexion with the deliberate and declared opinions of Charlemagne, as contained in the famous Carolinian

Books. These books speak in the name of the Emperor; Charlemagne himself boldly descends into the arena of controversy. The real authorship of these books can never be known; it is difficult not to attribute them to Alcuin, the only known writer equal to the task. It is probable indeed that the Emperor may have called more than one counsellor to his assistance in this deliberate examination of an important question, but to Christendom the books spoke in the name and with the authority of the Emperor.

Throughout the discussion, Charlemagne treads his middle path with firmness and dignity. He rejects, with uncompromising disdain, all worship of images; he will not tamper, perhaps he feels or writes as if he felt the danger of tampering, in the less pliant Latin, with those subtle distinctions of meaning which the Western Church was obliged to borrow, and without clear understanding, from the finer and more copious Greek. He rejects alike adoration, worship, reverence, veneration.^a He will not admit the kneeling before them; the burning of lights or the offering of incense;^a or the kissing of a lifeless image, though it represent the Virgin and the Child. Images are not even to be revered, as the saints, as living men, as reliques, as the Bible, as the Holy Sacrament, as the Cross, as the sacred vessels of the Church, as the Church itself.^b But, on the other hand, Charlemagne is no Iconoclast: he admits images and pictures into churches as ornaments, and, according to the definition of Gregory the Great, as keeping alive

^a Lib. ii. 21, 23; iii. 18; ii. 27; ii. 30. | leantur."—iv. 3; iv. 23.

^b Lib. ii. 21, 24; iii. 25; ii. 50, 27; i. 28, 29; iii. 27; iv. 3, 12.

^a "Quod ante imagines luminaria concinnentur, et thymiamata ado-

Walch, vol. xi. pp. 57, 59

the memory of pious men and of pious deeds.* The representatives of the Pope ventured no remonstrance either against the accuracy or the conclusion of the Council. The Carolinian Books were sent to the Pope at Rome. Hadrian still ruled: he was too prudent not to dissemble the indignation which he must have felt at this usurpation of spiritual authority by the temporal power, at least by this assertion of independence in a Transalpine Council, a Council chiefly of barbarian prelates; or to betray his wounded pride at this quiet contempt of his theological arguments, which could hardly be unknown as forming part of the proceedings in the Nicene Council, yet were not even noticed by the

A.D. 795.
Hadrian died
Dec. 26, 796.

Imperial controversialist. There is no peremptory declaration of his own infallibility, no anathema against the contumacious prelates, no protest against the imperial interference. A feeble answer, still extant, testifies at once the authenticity of the Carolinian Books, the embarrassment of the Pope within the grasp of a more powerful reasoner and more learned theologian, his awe of a superior power. Nor did this controversy lead to any breach of outward amity, or seem to deaden the inward feelings of mutual respect. Hadrian writes this, his last letter, with profound deference. Charlemagne shed tears at the death of the Pontiff; and, as has been said, showed the strongest respect for his memory.

These theological questions settled before the Council of Frankfort, a singular spectacle was exhibited, as though to make an ostentatious display of the power

* See the very curious description of Charlemagne's own splendid palace at Ingelheim.—Ermondus Nigellus, iv. painted on the walls. There were sculptures representing all the great events in profane history. "*Regia namque domus late persculpta nitescit.*"

and dubious clemency of Charlemagne. Tassilo, the Duke of Bavaria, cousin to the Emperor, who had been subdued, deposed, despoiled of his territory, was introduced, humbly to acknowledge his offences against the Frankish sovereign, to entreat his forgiveness, to throw himself and all his family on the mercy of Charlemagne. The Emperor condescended to be merciful, but he kept possession of the territory. The unfortunate Tassilo and all his family ended their days in a monastery. The Council added to its canons, condemnatory of the Spanish heresy and of image-worship, a third, ratifying this degradation, spoliation, and life-long imprisonment of the Duke of Bavaria.

Of the two following canons, one regulated the sale of corn, and fixed a price beyond which it was unlawful to sell it. The other related to the circulation of the coin, and enacted that whoever should refuse the royal money, when of real silver and of full weight, if a free man, should pay a fine of fifteen shillings to the Crown; if a slave, forfeit what he offered for sale, and be publicly flogged on his naked person.

The ninth canon decreed that Peter, a Bishop, should appear, with the two or three bishops who had assisted at his consecration, or at least his Archbishop, as his compurgators, and should swear before God and the angels that he had not taken counsel concerning the death of the King, or against his kingdom, or been guilty of any act of disloyalty.^d But as the Bishop could not bring his compurgators into court, he proposed that *his man* should undergo the ordeal, the judgement of God; that himself should swear, without touching either the holy reliques or the Gospel, to his

^d This conspiracy is alluded to in Eginhard, sub ann. 792. See the act of Sirmond in Labbe, p. 1066.

own innocence ; and that God would deal with *his man* according to the truth or falsehood of his oath. What the ordeal was does not appear, but *the man* passed through it unhurt ; and the Bishop, by the clemency of the King, was restored to his honours.

Other canons, of a more strictly ecclesiastical character, were passed :—I. To enforce discipline in monasteries.* II. On the residence of the clergy. III. On Ordinations, which were fixed for presbyters to the age of thirty. Virgins were not to take the vows before twenty-two. No one was to receive the slave of another ; no bishop to ordain a slave without permission of his master. IV. The payment of tithe. V. For the maintenance of churches by those who held the benefices.† VI. Against the worship of new saints without authority. VII. For the destruction of trees and groves sacred to pagan deities. VIII. Against the belief that God can be adored only in three languages ; “there is no tongue in which prayer may not be offered.” The Teutonic spirit is here again manifesting itself. The last statute of the Council, at the suggestion of the Emperor, admitted the Briton Alcuin, on account of his ecclesiastical erudition, to all the honours, and to be named in the prayers of the Council.‡

Such was the Council of Frankfort, the first example of that Teutonic independence in which the clergy appear as feudal beneficiaries around the throne of their temporal liege lord, with but remote acknowledgment of their spiritual sovereign, passing acts not merely

* No abbot was to blind or mutilate one of his monks for any crime whatever. “Nisi regulari disciplinæ subiacent.”

† If any one was found “by true

men” to have purloined timber, stone, or tiles, from the churches, for his own house, he was compelled to restore them.—xxvi.

Canon lii.

without his direct assent, but in contravention of his declared opinions. Charlemagne, not yet Emperor, is manifestly lord over the whole mind of the West. Except that he condescends to take counsel with the prelates instead of the military nobles, he asserts the same unlimited authority over ecclesiastical and civil affairs. He is too powerful for the Pope not to be his humble and loyal subject. The Pope might take refuge in the thought that the assembly at Frankfort was but a local synod, and aspired not to the dignity of an Œcumenic Council; and to local or national synods much power had always been allowed to regulate the discipline of their Churches, provided they issued no canons which infringed on the Catholic doctrines: yet these were statutes for the whole realm of Charlemagne, almost commensurate with the Western Patriarchate the actual spiritual dominion of the Roman Pontiff, with Latin Christendom. Yet, on the other hand, the hierarchy of the Church is advancing far beyond the ancient boundaries of its power; it is imperceptibly, almost unconsciously, trenching on temporal ground. The Frankfort assembly is a diet as well as a synod. The prelates appear as the King's counsellors, not only in religious matters, or on matters on the doubtful borders between religion and policy, but likewise on the affairs of the Empire—affairs belonging to the internal government of the State.

And though Charlemagne, as liege lord of the Teutonic race, as conqueror of kingdoms beyond the Teutonic borders, as sovereign of almost the whole Transalpine West, and afterwards as Emperor, stood so absolutely alone above all other powers; though the pope must be content to lurk among his vassals; yet doubtless, by his confederacy with the Pope. Charle-

magne fixed, even on more solid foundations, the papal power. The pope as well as the hierarchy was manifestly aggrandised by his policy. The Frankish alliance, the dissolution of the degrading connexion with the East, the magnificent donation, the acceptance of the Imperial crown from the Pope's hand, the visits to Rome, whether to protect the Pope from his unruly subjects or for devotion; everything tended to throw a deepening mysterious majesty around the Pope, the more imposing according to the greater distance from which it was contemplated, the more sublime from its indefinite and boundless pretensions. The Papacy had yet indeed to encounter many fierce contentions from without, and still more dangerous foes around, before it soared to the plenitude of its power and influence in the period from Gregory VII. to Innocent III. It was to sink to its lowest point of degradation in the tenth century, before it emerged again to contest the dominion of the world with the Empire, with the successors of Charlemagne, to commit the spiritual and temporal powers in a long and obstinate strife, in which for a time it was to gain the victory.

The brief epoch of renascent letters, arts, education, during the reign of Charlemagne, was as pre-
Arts and letters under Charlemagne, mature, as insulated, as transitory, as the unity of his Empire. Alcuin, whom one great writer^h calls the intellectual prime minister of Charlemagne, with all his fame, his well-merited fame, and those whom another great writerⁱ calls the Paladins of his literary court, Clement, Angilbert,^k all but Eginhard, were no more than the conservators and propagators

^h M. Guizot.

ⁱ Mr. Hallam.

^k Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, of a much higher cast of mind, was bred under Charlemagne.

of the old traditionary learning, the Augustinian theology, the Boethian science, the grammar, the dry logic and meagre rhetoric, the Church music, the astronomy, mostly confined to the calculation of Easter, of the trivium and quadrivium. The *Life of Charlemagne* by Eginhard is unquestionably the best historic work which had appeared in the Latin language for centuries; but Eginhard, during his later years, in his monastery in the Odenwald, stooped to be a writer of legend.^m Perhaps the Carolinian books are the most remarkable writings of the time. It might seem as if Latin literature, as it had almost expired in its originality among the great lawyers, so it revived in jurisprudence. Even the schools which Charlemagne established, if he did not absolutely found, on a wide and general scale,ⁿ had hardly a famous teacher, and must await some time before they could have their Erigena, still later their Anselm, their Abelard, with

^m The History of the Translation of the reliques of S. Marcellinus and S. Peter Martyr,* and their miracles, is one of the most extraordinary works of this extraordinary age, written, as it was, by a statesman and counsellor of two emperors. Two clerks, servants of Abbot Eginhard and the abbot of St. Médard in Soissons, are sent to Rome to *steal* reliques. They make a burglarious entry by night into a tomb (such sacrilege was a capital crime), carry off the two saints, with difficulty convey the holy plunder out of Rome and through Italy (some of the party pilfering a limb or two on the way). Eginhard is not merely

the shameless receiver of these stolen treasures; there is no bound to his pious and public exultation. The saints are fully consentient, rejoice in their subduction from their inglorious repose; their restless activity reveals itself in perpetual visions, till they are settled to their mind in their chosen shrines. A hundred and fifty pages of miracles follow; wrought in all quarters, even in the imperial palace. It might almost seem surprising that there should be a blind, lame, paralytic, or damonian person left in the land.

ⁿ See the schools in Hallam, ii. p. 478.

* An exorcist martyred at Rome. The martyrdom is related in a curious trochaic poem, not without spirit and vigour, ascribed also to Eginhard.—Eginhardi Opera, by M. Teulet. Soc. Hist. de France.

his antagonists and followers. What that Teutonic poetry was which Charlemagne cherished with German reverence, it is vain to inquire: whether tribal Frankish songs, or the groundwork of those national poems which, having passed through the Latin verse of the monks,^o came forth at length as the *Nibelungen* and the *Heldenbuch*.

^o See the poem *De Expeditione Attilæ*.

CHAPTER II.

Louis the Pious.

THE unity of the Empire, so favourable to the unity of Christendom, ceased not at the death of Charlemagne, it lasted during some years of the reign of his successor. But the unity of the Church, as it depended not on the personal character of the sovereign, remained undis severed. In the contests among Charlemagne's descendants the Pope mingles with his full unbroken authority; while the strife among the military feudatories of the Empire only weakens, or exposes the weakness of the imperial power. The influence of the great Transalpine prelates, so often on different sides in the strife, aggrandises that of the Pope, whom each party was eager, at any sacrifice, to obtain as an ally. Already the Papal Legates, before the pontificate of Nicolas I., begin to appear, and to conduct themselves with arrogance which implies conscious power. The awful menace of excommunication is employed to restrain sovereign princes. The Emperor for a time still holds his supremacy. Rome is, in a certain sense, an imperial city. The Pope is not considered duly elected without the Emperor's approbation; the successor of Leo III. throws the blame of his hasty consecration on the clergy and people. But, first the separation of the Italian kingdom from the Empire, and afterwards the feebleness, or the

distance, or the pre-occupation of the Emperor, allows this usage to fall into desuetude.

Yet, during the whole of this period, and indeed much later, in the highest days of the Papacy, the limited and contested power of the Pope in Rome strongly contrasts with his boundless pretensions and vast authority in remoter regions. The Pope and the Bishop of Rome might appear distinct persons. Already that turbulence of the Roman people, which afterwards, either in obedience to, or in fierce strife with, the lawless petty sovereigns of Romagna, degraded the Papacy to its lowest state, had broken out, and was constantly breaking out, unless repressed by some strong friendly arm, or overawed by a pontiff of extraordinary vigour or sanctity. The life of the Pope, in these tumults, was not secure. While mighty monarchs in the remotest parts of Europe were trembling at his word, he was himself at the mercy of a lawless rabble. The Romans still aspired to maintain their nationality. It was rare at that time for any one but a born Roman to attain the Papacy;^a and no doubt at each promotion there would be bitter disappointment among rival prelates and conflicting interests. It was at once the strength and weakness of the Pope; it arrayed sometimes a powerful party on his side, sometimes condensed a powerful host against him. Though the Romans had been overawed by the magnificence and grandeur of Charlemagne, and had joined, it might seem, cordially in their acclamations at his assumption of the Empire (which still implied dominion over Rome), yet the Franks, the Transalpines, were foreigners and barbarians. The Pope was constantly compelled by

^a Of nearly fifty Popes, from Hadrian to Gregory V. (a German created by Otho the Great), there appears one Tuscan (Martin or Marinus), and three of doubtful origin: every one of the rest is described as "*patriâ Romanus*."

Roman turbulence to recur to his imperial protector (among whose titles and offices was Defender of the Church of Rome); yet the presence of the Emperor, while it flattered, wounded the pride of the Romans: if it gratified one faction, embittered the hatred of the others.

Leo III. must have been among the most munificent and splendid of the Roman Pontiffs. Charlemagne had made sumptuous and imperial offerings on the altar of St. Peter. His donation seems to have endowed the Pope with enormous wealth. Long pages in Leo's Life are filled with his gifts to every church in Rome—to many in the Papal territories. Buildings were lined with marble and mosaic: there were images of gold and silver of great weight and costly workmanship (a silent but significant protest against the Council of Frankfort), priestly robes of silk and embroidery, and set with precious stones; censers and vessels of gold, columns of silver. The magnificence of the Roman churches must have rivalled or surpassed the most splendid days of the later republic, and the most ostentatious of the Cæsars.^b

Leo, like other prodigal sovereigns, may have exacted the large revenues, which he spent with such profusion, with hardness, which might be branded as avarice; and hence the Pope, who was thus gorgeously adorning the city and all his dominions with noble buildings, and decorating the churches with unexampled splendour, was still in perpetual danger from popular insurrection. Even during the reign of Charlemagne, Leo was hardly

^b Anastasius in Vit. Leo expended 1320 pounds of gold (pounds weight?) and 24,000 of silver on the churches in Rome. Thirty-five pages of this faithful chronicler of the wealth and expenditure of the Roman See are devoted to the details. — Compare Ellendorf, *Die Karolinger und die Hierarchie ihrer Zeit*, ii. p. 65.

safe in Rome. Immediately on the death of the Emperor, the embers of the old hostility broke out again into a flame; and the Pope held his throne only through the awe of the imperial power, at the will of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious.

There was a manifest conflict, during his later years, in the court, in the councils, in the mind of Charlemagne, between the King of the Franks and the Emperor of the West; between the dissociating, independent Teutonic principle, and the Roman principle of one code, one dominion, one sovereign. The Church, though Teutonic in descent, was Roman in the sentiment of unity. The great churchmen were mostly against the division of the Empire. The Empire was still one and supreme. The vigorous impulse given to the monarchical authority by its founder maintained for a few years the majesty of his son's throne. That unity

A.D. 806.

had been threatened by the proclaimed division of the realm between the sons of Charlemagne. The old Teutonic usage of equal distribution seemed doomed to prevail over the august unity of the Roman Empire. What may appear more extraordinary, the kingdom of Italy was the inferior appanage: it carried not with it the Empire, which was still to retain a certain supremacy; that was reserved for the Teutonic sovereign. It might seem as if this were but the continuation of the Lombard kingdom, which Charlemagne still held by the right of conquest. It was bestowed on Pepin; after his death intrusted to Bernhard, Pepin's illegitimate but only son. Wiser counsels prevailed. The two elder sons of Charlemagne died without issue;

April, 813.

Louis the third son was summoned from his kingdom of Aquitaine, and solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, as successor to the whole Empire.

Louis,^c—his name of Pious bespeaks the man,—thus the heir of Charlemagne, had inherited the religion of his father. But in his gentler and less resolute character that religion wrought with an abasing and enfeebling rather than ennobling influence. As King of Aquitaine Louis had been distinguished for some valour, activity, and conduct in war against the Saracens of Spain;^d but far more for his munificence to the churches and convents of his kingdom. The more rigid clergy had looked forward with eager hope to the sole dominion of the pious king; the statesmen among them had concurred in the preservation of the line of the Empire; yet Louis would himself have chosen as his example his ancestor Carloman, who retired from the world into the monastery of Monte Casino, rather than his father, the lord and conqueror of so many realms. It required the authority of Charlemagne, not unsupported, even by the most austere of the clergy, the admirers of his piety, to prevent him from turning monk.^e

Yet, on his accession, the religion of Louis might seem to display itself in its strength rather than in its weakness. The licence of his father's court shrank away from the sight of the holy sovereign. The concu-

^c Ermoldus gives the German derivation of the name Louis (Hludwig): "Nempe sonat Hluto præclarum, Wigch quoque Mars est."—Apud Pertz, ii. p. 468.

^d The panegyrist of Louis, the poet Ermonodus Nigellus, asserts his vigorous administration of Aquitaine. He describes at full length the siege of Barcelona, giving probably a much larger share of glory than his due to Louis. ^eFor his general character see Thegan. c. xix. Louis understood

Greek; spoke Latin as his vernacular tongue. On the youth of Louis see the excellent work of Funck, "Ludwig der Fromme." Sir F. Palgrave highly colours the character and accomplishments of Louis. Louis the Pious renounced the Pagan (Teutonic?) poetry which he was accustomed to repeat in his youth.—Thegan. p. 19.

^e Louis was a serious man. When at the banquet the jonglers and mimes made the whole board burst out into laughter, Louis was never seen to smile.

bines of the late Emperor, even his daughters and their paramours, disappeared from the sacred precincts of the palace. Louis stood forward the reformer, not the slave of the clergy. To outward appearance, like Charlemagne, he was the Pope, or rather the Caliph of his realm. He condescended to sit in council with his bishops, but he was the ostensible head of the council; his commissioners were still bearers of unresisted commands to ecclesiastical as to temporal princes. Yet the discerning eye might detect the coming change. The ascendancy is passing from the Emperor to the bishops. It is singular, too, that the nobles almost disappear; in each transaction, temporal as well as ecclesiastical, the bishops advance into more distinct prominence, the nobles recede into obscurity. The great ecclesiastics, too, are now almost all of Teutonic race. The effete and dissolute Roman hierarchy has died away. German ambition seizes the high places in the Church; German force animates their counsels. The great prelates, Ebbo of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, Theodolf of Orleans, are manifestly of Teutonic descent. Benedict of Aniane is the assumed name of Witiza, son of the Gothic Count of Magelone; Benedict, the most rigorous of ascetics, who stooped to the name, but thought the rule of the elder Benedict of Nursia far below monastic perfection. The bastard descendants of Charles Martel appear, two of them even now, not as kings or nobles, but as abbots or monks; compelled, perhaps, to shroud themselves from the jealousy of the legitimate race by this disqualification for temporal rule, only to exercise a more powerful influence through their sacred character.* Adalhard, Wala, Bernarius, were the sons of

* Funck, p. 42. He observes further: "Die lustigen Gesellen an Karls Hof, die Buhlen seiner Töchter, denen Ludwig mit seiner Heiligkeit, lächer

Bernhard, an illegitimate son of Charles Martel. Adalhard, Abbot of Corvey, and Bernarius, were already monks: the Count Wala was amongst the most honoured counsellors of Charlemagne. The nomination of Louis to the sole empire had not been unopposed. Count Wala, some of the higher prelates, Theodolf of Orleans, no doubt Wala's own brothers Adalhard and Bernarius, would have preferred, and were known or suspected to have pressed upon the Emperor the young Bernhard, the son whom Charlemagne had legitimated, or might have legitimated, of the elder Pepin, rather than the monk-King of Aquitaine. Wala indeed had hastened, after the death of Charlemagne, to pay his earliest homage at Orleans to Louis. He thought it more safe, however, to shave his imperilled head, and become a monk. The whole family was proscribed. Adalhard was banished to the island of Noirmoutiers; Bernarius to Lerins; Theodrada and Gundrada the sisters, Gundrada, who alone had preserved her chastity in the licentious court of Charlemagne, were ignominiously dismissed from the court.^g

Aug. 1.

A diet at Aix-la-Chapelle was among the earliest acts of Louis the Pious. From this council commissioners were despatched throughout the empire to receive complaints and to redress all acts of oppression.^h Multitudes were found who had been unrighteously despoiled of their property or liberty by the counts or

lich war, konnten natürlich den Bibelleser und Psalmsinger nicht an die Stelle Karls wünschen." Politics make strange coalitions!

^g "Quæ inter venereos palatii ardores et juvenum venustates, etiam inter deliciarum mulcentia, et inter omnis 'ibidinis blandimenta, sola meruit (ut

credimus) reportare pudicitia palam."—Vit. Adalh. apud Pertz, ii. p. 527. Theodrada had been married; as a widow, could only claim the secondary praise of unblemished virtue.

^h See the *Constitutio*, Bouquet, vi. p. 410.

other powerful nobles. The higher clergy were not exempted from this inquest, nor the monasteries. In how many stern and vindictive hearts did this inquest sow the baleful seed of dissatisfaction !

The Emperor is not only the supreme justiciary in his Gallic and German realm ; it is his unquestioned right, it is his duty, to decide between the Pope and his rebellious subjects—on the claims of Popes to their throne. Leo III. had apparently bestowed the imperial crown on Charlemagne, had re-created the Western Empire ; but he had been obliged to submit to the judicial award of Charlemagne. He is again a suppliant to Louis for aid against the Romans, and must submit to his haughty justice. Whether, as suggested, the prodigality of Leo had led to intolerable exactions—whether he had tyrannically exercised his power, or the turbulent Romans would bear no control—(these animosities must have had a deeper root than the disappointed ambition of Pope Hadrian's nephews)—a conspiracy was formed to depose Pope Leo, and to put him to death. Leo attempted to suppress the tumults with unwonted rigour : he seized and publicly executed the heads of the adverse faction.¹ The city burst out in rebellion. Rome became a scene of plunder, carnage, and conflagration. Intelligence was rapidly conveyed to the court of Louis. King Bernhard, who had been among the first to render his allegiance to his uncle at Aix-la-Chapelle, had been confirmed in the government of Italy. He was commanded to interpose, as the delegate of the Emperor. Bernhard fell ill at Rome, but sent a report by the imperial officer, the Count Gerhard, to the sovereign. With him went a humble mission

¹ A.D. 815, Eginhard, *sub ann.*

from the Pope, to deprecate the displeasure of that sovereign, expressed at the haste and cruelty of his executions, and to answer the charge made against him by the adverse faction. No sooner had King Bernhard withdrawn from Rome than, on the illness of Leo, a new insurrection broke out. The Romans sallied forth, plundered and burned the farms on the Pope's estates in the neighbourhood. They were only compelled to peace by the armed interference of the Duke of Spoleto.

The death of Leo, and, it should seem, the unpopular election of his successor, Stephen IV., exasperated rather than allayed the tumults.

June 12, 816.

Stephen's first acts were to make the Romans swear fealty to the Emperor Louis; * to despatch a mission, excusing, on account of the popular tumults, his consecration without the approbation of

June 22.

the Emperor, or the presence of his legates.^m In the third month of his pontificate Stephen was compelled to take refuge, or seek protection, at the feet of the Emperor, against his intractable subjects.ⁿ He was

* Thegan., Vit. Hludovici, ii. 594.

^m "Missis interim duobus legatis, qui quasi pro suâ consecratione imperatori suggererent."—Eginhard. ann. 816.

ⁿ The poet disguises the flight of Stephen; he comes to Rheims at the invitation of Louis:—

"Tum jubet acciri Romani ab sede patrum."

The interview is described in his most florid style. He makes the Pope draw a comparison between his visit and that of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon:—

"Rex tamen ante sagax flexato poplite adorat

Terque quaterque, Dei sive in honore Petri,
Suscipit hunc supplex Stephanus, manibusque sacralis
Sublevat e terrâ, basiat ora libens,
Nunc oculos, nunc ora, caput, nunc pectora, colla,
Basiat alterutri Rexque sacerque pius."—ii. 221.

All accounts agree in the festivities. The poet says—

"Pocula densa volant, tangitque volentia Bacchus Corda."—ii. 227.

The pious king was not averse to wine. Funck erroneously ascribes Stephen's journey in the first instance to the Pope's desire of crowning the Emperor.

received in Rheims with splendid courtesy, and with his own hand crowned the Emperor. Thus the fugitive from his own city aspires to ratify the will of Charlemagne, the choice of the whole empire, the hereditary right of Louis to the throne of the Western world. In Rome the awe of Louis commanded at least some temporary cessation of the conflict, and a general amnesty. Stephen returned to Rome, accompanied by those who had been the most daring and obstinate rebels against his predecessor Leo and the Church.^o Stephen died soon after his return to Rome.

On his death Paschal I. was chosen by the impatient clergy and people, and compelled to assume the Pontificate without the Imperial sanction. But Paschal was too prudent to make common cause with the Romans in this premature assertion of their independence; he sent a deprecatory embassy across the Alps, throwing the blame on the disloyal precipitancy of the people. The Romans received a grave admonition not again to offend against the majesty of the Empire.

Louis the Pious held his plenary Court a second time at Aix-la-Chapelle. The four great acts of this Council were among the boldest and most comprehensive ever submitted to a great national assembly. The Emperor was still in theory the sole legislator: not only were the secret suggestions, but the initiatory motions in the Council, from the supreme power. It might seem, that in the three acts which regarded the hierarchy, the Emperor legislated for the Church; but it was in truth the Church legislating for

^o "Qui illic captivitate tenebantur, propter scelera et iniquitates suas quas in sanctam Ecclesiam Romanam et erga dominum Leonem Papam gesserant."—Anastas. in Vit.

herself through the Emperor. It was Teutonised Latin Christianity organising the whole trans-Alpine Church with no regard to the Western Pontiff. The vast reforms comprehended at once the whole clergy and the monasteries. It was the completion, ratification, extension of Charlemagne's scheme, a scheme by its want of success or universality still waiting its consummation. Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, another Teuton, had, under the last Merovingians and Pepin, ^{Church laws.} aspired to bring the clergy to live together under the canonical discipline. Charlemagne had given the sanction of his authority to this plan. Now the Archbishops and Bishops are invested in autocratic power to extend, if not absolutely to enforce this rigorous mode of life on all the Priesthood.^p The sumptuary laws were universal, minute; the prohibition to bear arms; the proscription of their worldly pomp, of their belts studded with gold and precious stones; their brilliant and fine apparel; their gilded spurs. But if they are stripped of their pomp it is only to increase immeasurably their power. If the sacerdotal army is to be arrayed under more rigid order and under more absolute command, it is only that it may be more efficient. Church property is strictly inviolable. II. The monasteries (which it might have seemed the sole object of Louis, since his accession, to endow with ampler wealth)^q are submitted

^p Wala, the exiled counsellor of Charlemagne, hereafter to succeed to the influence of Benedict of Aniane, held the same ecclesiastical notions as to the rigorous subordination of monks and clergy to rule. He denounces even the court chaplains: "Quorum itaque vita neque sub regulâ est monachorum, neque sub episcopo militat canonicè, præsertim cum nulla

alia tirocinia sint ecclesiarum, quam sub his duobus ordinibus," *et seqq.*—Vita Walæ, Pertz, ii. 560.

^q In the *Regesta*, during the first years of Louis, it is difficult to find out the public acts, among the long succession of grants to churches and monasteries. — *Boehmer, Regesta.* Frankfort, 1833.

to the iron rule of Benedict of Aniane. III. This hierarchy, so reformed, so reinvigorated, aspires to sever itself entirely from the state. A special Capitular asserted their full and independent rights. The election of Bishops was to be in the clergy and the commonalty; that of the abbots in the brotherhood of monks. The Crown, the nobles, surrendered or were excluded from all interposition. The right of patronage, even in nobles who built churches on their own domain, was limited to the nomination; once instituted, only the Bishop could depose or expel the priests. The whole property of the Church was under their indefeasible, irresponsible administration. The Teutonic aristocracy of the Church maintained its lofty tone. No unfree man could be admitted to holy orders; if he stole into orders, might be degraded and restored to his lord. If the Bishop would ordain a slave, he must be first emancipated before the whole Church and the people. Yet were there provisions to limit abuses as well as to increase power. The three-fold division of the Church revenues is enacted, two-thirds to the poor, one to the monks and clergy. The clergy are prohibited from receiving donations or bequests to the wrong of near relations. None were to be received into monasteries in order to obtain their property. Church treasures might on one account only be pawned—the redemption of captives. Youths of either sex were not to be persuaded to receive the tonsure or take the veil without consent of their parents. All these laws are enacted by the Emperor in council for the whole empire, almost tantamount to Latin Christendom; of approbation, ratification, confirmation by the Pope, not one word!

The Council Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle having thus legislated for the Church, contemplated the dangers

of the State. The accidental fall of a gallery had endangered the life of the Emperor; he was seriously hurt. What, the wiser men bethought them, or had long before thought, were the Emperor thus suddenly cut off, had been the fate of the Empire? They clearly foresaw the danger of the old Teutonic principle, which had been threatened even under Charlemagne—equal division among the three sons of Louis. The mother of these three sons, as well as their closer adherents, might look with profound solicitude at the rivalry of Bernhard, son of Pepin, whom some of the most powerful had in their hearts, probably in their counsels, designated as the successor of Charlemagne. The Council must not separate without regulating the succession of the Empire. His counsellors urged this upon Louis. "I love my sons with equal affection; but I must not sacrifice the unity of the Empire to my love." He laid this question before the Council,—“Is it right to delay a measure on which depends the welfare of the state?” “That,” was the universal acclamation, “which is necessary or profitable brooks no delay.” But such determination must be made with due solemnity. A fast of three days, prayer for divine grace, is ordered by the pious Emperor. After these three days the decree was promulgated. It proclaimed the great principle of primogeniture. The whole empire fell in its undivided sovereignty, at the death of Louis, to his eldest son, Lothair. Two royal appanages were assigned, with the title of King, to Pepin II., Aquitaine, the Basque Provinces, the March of Toulouse, four Countships in Septimania and Burgundy: to Louis, the third son, Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, the Slavian and Avarian provinces subject to the Franks. But the younger sons were every year to pay homage

Succession to
the empire.

and offer gifts to the Emperor. Without his consent they could not make war or peace, send envoys to foreign lands, or contract marriage. If either died without heirs, his appanage fell back to the Empire. If he should leave more sons than one, the people were to choose one for their king, the Emperor to confirm the election. If one of the younger brothers should take arms against the Emperor, he was to be admonished; if contumacious, deposed.

This decree was fatal to Bernhard, the son, by a concubine of Pepin,* who still held, by the Bernhard king in Italy. unrevoked grant of Charlemagne, the kingdom of Italy. He alone was not summoned, had no place, in the great council of Aix-la-Chapelle. In the decree there was a total, inauspicious, significant silence as to his name. And this was the return for the early and ready allegiance which he had sworn to Louis, his fidelity in the affairs of Rome. Bernhard had nothing left but the energy of despair. Italy, weary and indignant, seemed ready to cast off the trans-Alpine yoke. The Lombards may have aspired to restore their ruined kingdom. Two great Bishops, Anselm of Milan, Wulfoald of Cremona, and many of the nobles, tendered him their allegiance, as their independent sovereign. The cities and people as far as the Po were ready or were compelled to take the oath of fealty. Pope Paschal was believed at least not unfriendly to the ambitious views of Bernhard. He was not without powerful partisans beyond the Alps. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, was still faithful to his cause. Wala and his brothers were at least suspected of the same treasonable inclina-

* Funck observes that illegitimate is an unknown word; the term is usually *ex ancilla*.

tions ; the three were placed, each in his convent, under more rigid care.

But Louis raised an overpowering force ; the Lombards were not united. The Count of Brescia, the Bishop Rathald of Verona, retired across the Alps to the Emperor. The powerful dukes of Friuli and Spoleto adhered to the Imperial cause. Bernhard had nothing left but submission. He passed the Alps, and threw himself at his uncle's feet at Châlons on the Saone.* The mild Louis interposed to mitigate the capital sentence pronounced against the rebel and the leaders of his party at Aix-la-Chapelle. His sterner counsellors, it is said the implacable Hermingard, insisted that Bernhard should be incapacitated for future acts of ambition by the loss of his eyes. The punishment was so cruelly or unskilfully executed, that he died of exhaustion, or of a broken heart.

Some of the rebellious leaders suffered the same penalty : one died like Bernhard. The traitor Bishops, Orleans, Milan, Cremona, were shut up in monasteries. Now, too, were the three natural sons of Charlemagne, Drogo, Hugh, and Thierry, compelled to submit to the tonsure. Louis had sworn to be their guardian ; the pious Emperor forced them to perpetual holy imprisonment.

Lothair, the eldest son of Louis, now crowned, by the sole authority of Louis, King of Italy, assumed the dominion of the Peninsula. But the turbulent state of the whole country compelled him to return to Germany, and to demand succour in men and

Defeat and
death of
Bernhard.

April 15, 818.

Lothair king
of Italy.

* Funck asserts that the Empress Hermingard decoyed him over the Alps, with promise of full pardon. I do not think that his authorities bear him out.—p. 65, and note.

arms from his father. Rome was not behind the rest, as will speedily appear, in acts of violence and insubordination.

So far the son of Charlemagne had reigned in splendour, in justice, in firmness, in wisdom. He ^{Death of the Empress Hermingard.} had been the legislator of the Empire, both as to its religious and temporal affairs. He had, it might seem, secured the succession in his house; he had suppressed all rebellion with a strong hand, had only yielded to mercilessness, which could not injure him in the estimation of his Teutonic subjects. On the death of his wife Hermingard his mind was shaken, if not partially disturbed; his old religious feelings came back in all their rigour; it was feared that the pious Emperor would abdicate the throne, and retire into a monastery. His counsellors, to bind him to the world, persuaded him to take a second wife. His choice was made with a singular union of the indifference of a monk and the arbitrary caprice of an Eastern sultan.^t The fairest daughters of the nobles were assembled for his inspection.^u The monarch was at once captivated ^{Marriage of Louis. Feb. 819.} by the surpassing beauty of Judith, daughter of the Bavarian Count Wippo.^x Judith was not only the most beautiful, according to the flattering testimony of bishops and abbots, she was the most highly-educated woman of the time. She played on the organ; she danced with perfect grace; she was eloquent as well as learned. The uxorious monarch yielded himself up to his blind passion.

^t "Timebatur a multis, ne regium vellet relinquere gubernaculum. Tandemque eorum voluntati satisfaciens, et undique adductas procerum filias inspiciebat, Judith, filiam Wipponis," &c. —Astronomus, c. 32.

^u "Inspectis plerisque nobilium filiabus."—Eginhard, p. 332.

^x "The marriage was but four months after the death of Hermingard." —Agobard, Oper. ii. p. 65.

From this time a strange feebleness comes over the character of Louis. The third year after his marriage the great diet of the Empire is summoned to Attigny-on-the-Aisne, not to take counsel for the defence, extension, or consolidation of the Empire; not to pass ecclesiastical or civil laws, but to witness the humiliating public penance of the Emperor. His sensitive conscience had long been preying upon him; it reproached him with the barbarous blinding and death of his nephew Bernhard; the chastisement of the insurgent Bishops; the presumptuous restraint which he had imposed on the holy monks Adalhard, Wala, Bernarius; the enforced tonsure of his father's three sons.

Diet of
Attigny.
Aug. 822.

Even in his own time, this act of Louis was compared by admiring Churchmen with the memorable penance of Theodosius the Great. How great the difference between the crimes and character of the men! Theodosius, in a transport of passion, had ordered the promiscuous massacre of all the inhabitants of a flourishing city. Bernhard and his partisans had forfeited their lives according to the laws of the Franks: the Emperor had interposed, though vainly and weakly, only to mitigate the penalty. His offence against Adalhard and Wala was banishment from the court, confinement to monasteries of men who had aimed at excluding him from the Empire, whose abilities and influence he might still dread.⁷ And for these delinquencies the trembling son of Charlemagne, the lord of his Empire, stood weeping and imploring the intercession of the clergy, and endeavoured to appease the wrath of Heaven by prodigal almsgiving and the most abject acts of peni-

Penance of
Louis.

⁷ "Timebatur enim quam maximè | *sinistrum contra imperatorem molie-*
Wala, summi apud Karolum Impera- | *tur.*" — Astronomus, ii. p. 618.
torem habitus loci, ne forte aliquid | *Pertz, ii.*

tence.² He supplicated the forgiveness of Adalhard and Wala, whom he had already recalled to his court, Wala, now that Benedict of Aniane was dead, speedily to assume absolute power over the mind of Louis.³ Against them it would be difficult to show how he had grievously sinned. He deplored his having compelled the sons of Charlemagne to the tonsure. If we respect the conscientious scruples which induced Louis publicly to own his offences, to seek reconciliation with his enemies, some compassion and more contempt mingle with that respect when we see him thus prostrating the imperial dignity at the feet of the hierarchy. The penance of Theodosius was the triumph of religion over the pride and cruelty of man—a noble remorse; in Louis it was the slavery of superstition: he had lost all moral discrimination as to the nature and extent of his own guilt. The slightest act of authority against monk or priest is become a crime, reconciliation with Heaven only to be obtained by propitiating their favour.

The hierarchy failed not to discover the hour of the monarch's weakness. At the autumnal Diet four great ecclesiastical councils were summoned to meet at Pentecost in the following year, to treat of affairs of religion and the abuses of the civil power. Among the crimes which it was determined to suppress was the granting of monasteries to laymen; the grants of Church property at pleasure to the vassals of the Crown, without consent of the bishops. Thus the bishops aspired to be co-legislators in the diets, sole legislators in the councils of which themselves determined the powers.

* "Eleemosynarum etiam largitione plurimarum, sed et servorum Christi orationum instantiâ, necnon et propriâ satisfactione, adeo divinitatem sibi placare curabat, quasi hæc quæ super

unumquemque legaliter decurrerant, sua gesta fuerant crudelitate." — p. 626.

* "Venerabatur passim secundus a Cæsare." — Vit. Walæ, p. 535.

Yet even in his prostrate humiliation before the transalpine clergy, Louis, through his son Lothair, is exercising full sovereignty over Rome. Lothair, accompanied by Wala, now at once the confidential adviser of Louis in the highest matters, had descended into Italy to command disquieted Rome into peace. He had received the crown from the obsequious Pope. Hardly, however, had Lothair recrossed the Alps when he was overtaken by hasty messengers with intelligence of new tumults.

Two men of the highest rank (Theodorus, the Præmicerius of the Church, and Leo, the Nomenclator, who had held high functions at the coronation of Lothair) had been seized, dragged to the Lateran palace, blinded, and afterwards beheaded. The Pope was openly accused of this inhuman act.^b Two imperial commissioners, Adelung, Abbot of St. Vedast, and Hunfrid, Count of Coire, were despatched with full powers to investigate the affair. At the same time came envoys from the Pope to the court of Louis.^c The imperial commissioners were baffled in their inquiry. Paschal refused to produce the murderers; he asserted that they were guilty of no crime in putting to death men themselves guilty of treason; he secured them by throwing around them a half-sacred character as servants of the Church of St. Peter.^d Himself he exculpated by a solemn expurgatorial oath, before thirty bishops, from all parti-

^b Both Leo and Theodorus had been sent as ambassadors by Paschal, one to the Emperor, the other to Lothair.—Eginhard. "Erant et qui dicerent, vel jussu vel consilio Paschalis Pontificis rem fuisse perpetrata."—Eginhard, *Annal.* sub ann. 823. "Qua in re fama Pontificis quoque ludebatur,

dum ejus consensui totum ascriberetur."—Astronom. p. 302.

^c John, Bishop of Silva Candida; the librarian Sergius; Quirinus subdeacon; Leo, master of the military.

^d Thegan., *Vit. Illudovic.* apud Pertz, c. 30. Eginhard sub ann.

cipation in the deed. The Emperor received with respect the exculpation of the Pope. But Paschal
 May, 824. was summoned before a higher judgement: he died immediately after the arrival of the Emperor's messengers. The Romans, though Paschal had vied with his predecessor, Leo III., in his magnificent donations to the churches of Rome, would not permit his burial in the accustomed place, nor with the usual pomp.^e

The contest for the vacant see arrayed against each other the two factions in Rome under their undisguised colours. It was a strife between a trans-Alpine and a cis-Alpine, a Teutonic and a Roman interest. The patricians, the nobles of Rome, many of Lombard blood, were in the Imperialist party; the plebeians, the commons, asserted their independence, and scorned the subservience of the Popes. They were more papal than the Popes themselves. Wala, now ruling the Emperor's counsels, had remained at Rome. By his dexterous management Eugenius prevailed over his rival, Zinzinnus. Yet the presence of Lothair was demanded to overawe the city, and to maintain the Imperialist Pope.^f Lothair issued his man-
 June, 824. dates in a high tone. He strongly remonstrated with the Pope against the violence and insults suffered by all who were faithful to the Emperor and friendly to the Franks. Some had been put
 Oct., Nov. to death, others made the laughing-stock of their enemies. There was a general clamour against the Roman pontiffs and against the administrators of justice. By the ignorance or indolence of the popes, by the insatiable avarice of the judges, the property of

^e Thegan.

^f "Eugenius, vincente nobilium parte, ordinatus est."—Eginhard.

many Romans had been unjustly confiscated. Lothair had determined to redress these abuses. By his supreme authority many judgements were reversed; the confiscated estates restored to their rightful owners. In other words, the Imperialist nobles obtained redress of all grievances, real or imaginary. The heads of the popular party were surrendered and sent to France. A constitution was publicly affixed on the Vatican, regulating the election of the Pope, for which no one had a suffrage but a Roman of an approved title: it thus vested the election in the nobles.^g Annual Constitution reports were to be made, both to the Pope and to the Emperor, on the administration of justice. Each of the senate or people was to declare whether he would live according to the Roman, the Lombard, or the Frankish law. On the Emperor's arrival at Rome, all the great civil authorities were to pay him feudal service. There were other provisions for the maintenance of the Papal estates, and prohibiting plunder on the vacancy of the see. As a still more peremptory assertion of the Imperial supremacy, the unrepealed statute was confirmed, that no Pope should be consecrated till his election had been ratified by the Emperor. The Emperor declared his intention of sending commissioners from time to time to watch over the administration of the laws, to receive appeals, and to remedy acts of wrong or injustice.^h

But while the Empire thus asserted its supremacy in

^g The Constitution in Sigonius, *Hist. Italica*; and in Holstenius; Labbe cum Notis Bini, p. 1541, sub ann. Bouquet.

^h "Statutum est quoque juxta antiquorum morem, ut ex latere imperatoris mitterentur, qui judicariam

potestatem exercentes justitiam omni populo facerent, et tempore quo visum foret imperatori, æqua lance penderent." — Apud Bouquet, vi. 410. The Emperor Henry II. afterwards appealed to this constitution.—Ellendorf, p. 31.

Rome, beyond the Alps it was gradually sinking into decay. The vast dominions of Charlemagne, notwithstanding the decree of Aix-la-Chapelle, (growing weakness and division of the empire.) were severing into independent, soon to become hostile, kingdoms. The imperial power, out of which grew the unity of the whole, was losing its awful reverence. The Emperor was but one of many sovereigns, with the title, but less and less of the substance, of pre-eminent power. The royal authority itself was becoming more precarious by the rise of the great feudal aristocracy; and in the midst of, above great part of that aristocracy, the feudal clergy of France and Germany were more and more rapidly advancing in strength, wealth, and influence.

In the miserable civil wars which distracted the latter part of the reign of Louis the Pious, in the rebellions of his sons, in the degradation of the Imperial authority, the bishops and abbots not merely take a prominent part, but appear as the great arbiters, as the awarders of empire, the deposers of kings.

The jealousies of the sons of Louis by his Queen Hermingard, which broke out into open insurrection, into civil wars with the father, began with the birth of his son by the Empress Judith;¹ and became more violent and irreconcilable as that son, afterwards Charles the Bald, advanced towards adolescence. These jealousies arose out of the apprehension, that in the partition of the Empire, according to Frankish usage confirmed by Charlemagne, on the death or demise of Louis, some share, and that more than a just share, should be extorted by the dominant influence of the beautiful stepmother from the uxorious Emperor. Louis was thought to be completely ruled by his wife and

¹ Charles, born June 13, 823, at Frankfort.

her favourite, Bernhard, Duke of Septimania. Rumours, of which it is impossible to know the truth, ^{Bernhard of Septimania} accused Duke Bernhard not only of swaying the counsels, but of dishonouring the bed, of his master.^k The sons of Louis propagated these degrading reports, and indignantly complained that the bastard offspring of Duke Bernhard should aspire to part of their inheritance. But to Duke Bernhard the unsuspecting Louis, besides the cares of empire, entrusted the education of his son Charles. He had dismissed all his old counsellors: Abbot Elisachar, the chancellor; the chief chaplain, Hilduin; Jesse, Bishop of Amiens; and other lay officers and ministers of the court. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, must withdraw to his diocese.^m The whole time of Louis seemed to be indolently whiled away between field-sports, hunting and fishing in the forest of Ardenues, and the most rigid and punctilious religious practices.

These melancholy scenes concern Christian history no further than as displaying the growing power of the clergy, the religion of Louis gradually quailing into abject superstition, the strange fusion and incorporation of civil and ecclesiastical affairs. But in this consists the peculiar and distinctive character of these times. The Church gives refuge to, or punishes and incapacitates, by its disqualifying vows, the victims of political animosity. The dethroned Empress is forced into a convent. Civil incapacity is not complete, at least is

^k "Thorum occupavit." — Vit. Walæ. Paschasius Radbert, the friend, partisan, and biographer of Wala, is the fierce accuser of the queen, the fury, the adulteress; and of Bernhard, the most factious monster, the defiler of matrons, the cruel beast.—Vit.

Walæ. "Fit palatium prostibulum, ubi mœchia dominatur, adulter regnat." Bernhard is even accused of a design to murder Louis and his sons. Thegan declares that these charges were all lies (p. 36): "Mentientes omnia."

^m Compare Funck, p. 102.

not absolutely binding, without ecclesiastical censure. The Pope himself appears in person : principally through his influence, Louis is abandoned by his army, and left at the mercy of his rebellious sons. The degraded monarch, recalled to his throne, will not resume his power without the removal of the ecclesiastical censure.

The first overt act of rebellion by the elder sons of Louis, chiefly Pepin (for Louis held a doubtful course, and Lothair was yet in Italy), was the refusal of the feudal army to engage in the perilous and unprofitable war in Bretagne." Already the fond and uxorious father had awakened jealousy by assigning to the son of Judith the title of King of Alemannia.^o Pepin, King of Aquitaine, placed himself at the head of the mutinous forces. The Emperor, with a few loyal followers (who, though like the rest they refused to engage in the Breton war, yet would not abandon their sovereign), lay at Compiègne, while his sons, with the mass of the army, were encamped three leagues off at Verberie. Around Pepin had assembled the discarded ecclesiastical ministers, Elisachar, Wala, Hilduin, Jesse ; with Godfrey and Richard, and the Counts Warin, Lantbert, Matfrid, Hugo. The demands of the insurgents were stern and peremptory : the dismissal and punishment of Duke Bernhard, the degradation of the guilty Judith. Bernhard made his escape to the south, and took refuge in Barcelona ; Judith, by the Emperor's advice, retired into the convent of St. Mary of Laon. There she was seized by the adherents of her step-sons, and compelled to promise that she would use all her influence, if she had opportunity, to urge the Emperor to retire to a

* The herrban was summoned to Rennes, April 14, 830.

• Aug. 829, at Worms.

cloister.^p Before herself was set the dreary alternative of death or of taking the veil. She pronounced the fatal vows; and, as a nun, edified by her repentance and piety the sisters of St. Radegonde at Poitiers.

To the people she was held up as a wicked April, 830.
 enchantress, who by her potions and by her unlawful bewitchments alone could have so swayed the soul of the pious Emperor. Lothair, the King of Italy, now joined his brothers, and approved of all their acts. Deliberations were held, in which the higher ecclesiastics Jesse, Bishop of Amiens; Hilduin, Abbot of St. Denys; Wala (by the death of his brother Adalhard now Abbot of Corbey) urged the stronger measure, the degradation of the Emperor. The sons, either from fear or respect, hesitated at this extreme course. Some of the Imperial ministers were punished; two brothers of the Empress forced to submit to the tonsure; and Heribert, brother of Duke Bernhard, blinded. In a general Diet of the Empire at Compiègne, Lothair was associated with his father in the Empire.

But the unpopularity of Louis with the Roman Gauls and with the Franks of Gaul was not shared by the German subjects of the Empire. Throughout this contest, the opposition between the Teutonic and the Gaulish Franks (the French, who now began to form a different society and a different language, with a stronger Roman character in their institutions) foreshowed the inevitable disunion which awaited the Empire of Charlemagne. In the Diet of Nimeguen the cause of the Emperor predominated so completely that

^p "Quam usque adeo intentatam per diversi generis pœnas invite adegere, ut promitteret, se, si copia daretur sum imperatore colloquendi persuasuram quatenus Imperator abjectis armis, comisque recisis monasterio sese conferret."—*Astron. Vit. Ludov. A.D. 829.*

Lothair would not listen to the advice of his more desperate followers to renew the war.^a He yielded to the gentle influence of his father, and abandoned, with but little scruple, his own adherents and those of his brothers. The Emperor and his son appeared in public as entirely reconciled. Sentence of capital condemnation was passed on all who had taken part in the proceedings at Compiègne. Jesse, Hilduin, Wala, Matfrid, and the rest were in custody; and it was the clemency of the Emperor rather than the interposition of Lothair in favour of his partisans which prorogued their punishment till the meeting of another Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, summoned for the 2nd of February. Louis returned in triumph to pass the winter in that capital. His first act was to release his wife from her monastic prison. She returned from Aquitaine, but the scrupulous Emperor hesitated to restore her to her conjugal rights while the impeachment remained upon her honour, perhaps likewise on account of the vows which she had been compelled to take. On the solemn day of the purification of the Virgin, Judith appeared (no one answering the citation to accuse the Empress of adultery or witchery) to assert her own purity. The loyal assembly at once declared that no accuser appeared against her; an oath was tendered, and without further inquiry her own word was held sufficient to establish her spotless virtue. The gentle Louis seized the opportunity of mercy to commute the capital punishment of all the conspirators against his authority.^r His monkish

^a Funck, I think, does not make out his case of the craft of Louis: he seems to have followed rather than guided events.

^r Hilduin had appeared with a great armed retinue of the vassals of the abbeys of St. Denys, St. Germain de Prés, and St. Médard.—Funck, p. 111. Jesse of Amiens was deposed by a council of bishops, headed by Ebbo

biographer rebukes his too great lenity.^s The sons of Louis, humiliated, constrained to assent to the condemnation of their partisans, withdrew, each to his separate kingdom—Pepin to Aquitaine, Louis to Bavaria, Lothair to Italy. Duke Bernhard presented himself at the court at Thionville in

A.D. 831.

the course of the autumn; he averred his innocence; according to the custom, defied his accusers to come forward and prove their charge in arms. The wager of battle was not accepted, and Duke Bernhard was admitted to purge himself by oath.

Hardly more than a year elapsed, and the three sons were again in arms against their father. Louis seems now to have alienated the able Duke Bernhard, and to have surrendered himself to the undisputed rule of Gombard, a monk of St. Médard in Soissons.

The whole Empire is now divided into two hostile parties: on each side are dukes and counts, bishops and abbots. The Northern Germans espouse the cause of the Emperor; the Gaulish Franks and some of the Southern Germans obey the Kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria. Among the clergy, another element of jealousy and disunion was growing to a great height. Even under the Merovingian kings, it has been seen, the nobles had endeavoured to engross the great ecclesiastical dignities. Under the Carolingians, men of the highest rank, of the noblest descent, even the younger or illegitimate branches of the royal family,

of Rheims; Hilduin imprisoned at Corbey; Wala in a castle on the lake of Geneva.

^s Astronomus, in Vit. xlv. According to Boehmer (Regesta), Lothair and Louis were present at this diet.

At this diet too appeared envoys from the Danes to implore the continuance of peace; from the Slavians, and from the Caliph of Bagdad, with splendid presents. The Empire appeared still in its strength at a distance.

had become Churchmen; but the higher these dignitaries became, and more and more on a level with the military feudatories, the more the Nobles began to consider the ecclesiastical benefices their aristocratical inheritance and patrimony. They were indignant when men of lower or of servile birth presumed to aspire to these high places, which raised them at once to a level with the most high-born and powerful. They almost aimed at making a separate caste, to whom should belong, of right, all the larger ecclesiastical as well as temporal fiefs. But abilities, piety, learning, in some instances no doubt less lofty qualifications, would at times force their way to the highest dignities. Louis, whether from policy or from a more wise and Christian appreciation of the clerical function in the Church, was considered to favour this humbler class of ecclesiastics. One of his biographers, Thegan, himself an ecclesiastical dignitary of noble birth, thus contemptuously describes the low-born clergy:—"It was the great weakness of Louis that he did not prevent that worst of usages by which the basest slaves obtained the highest dignities of the Church. He followed the fatal example of Jeroboam, 'who made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places. . . . And this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and to destroy it from the face of the earth.' No sooner have such men attained elevation than they throw off their meekness and humility, give loose to their passions, become quarrelsome, evil-speaking, ruling men's minds by alternate menaces and flatteries. Their first object is to raise their families from their servile condition: to some they give a good education, others they contrive to marry into noble families. No one can lead a quiet life who resents their demands and intrigues.

Their relatives, thus advanced, treat the older nobles with disdain, and behave with the utmost pride and insolence. The apostolic canon is obsolete, that, if a bishop has poor relations, they should receive alms like the rest of the poor, and nothing more." Thegan devoutly wishes that God would put an end to this execrable usage.^t In all this there may have been truth, but truth spoken in bitterness by the wounded pride of caste. These ecclesiastics were probably the best and the worst of the clergy. There were those who rose by the virtues of saints, by that austere and gentle piety, by that winning evangelic charity, united with distinguished abilities, which is sure of sympathy and admiration in the darkest times: and those who rose by the vices of slaves, selfishness, cunning, adulation, intrigue, by the worldly abilities which in such times so easily assume the mask of religion. Now, however, all the higher clergy, of gentle or low birth, seem to have joined the confederates against the Emperor. Ebbo of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, Barnard of Vienne, Heribald of Auxerre, Hilduin of Beauvais, are united with Jesse of Amiens and the indefatigable Wala. Afterwards appear also, with Lothair at Compiègne, Bartholomew of Narbonne, Otgar of Mentz, Elias of Troyes, Joseph of Evreux.

At length—after many vicissitudes, hostilities, negotiations, in which Louis, under the absolute control of the ambitious Judith, seemed determined to depress his elder sons, and to advance the young Charles (he had now named him King of Aquitaine)—the armies of the

^t "Jamdudum illa pessima consuetudo erat, ut ex vilissimis servis fiant summi Pontifices . . . et ideo omnipotens Iesus cum regibus et principibus hanc pessimam consuetudinem amodo et deinceps eradicare et suffocare dignetur, ut amplius non fiat in populo Christiano. Amen!"

Emperor and of his rebellious sons (all three sons were now in arms) stood in array against each other on the plains of Rothfeld in Alsace, at no great distance from Strasburg. The Pope was announced as in the camp of the King of Italy. This Pope was Gregory IV., by birth a Roman. Eugenius had been succeeded by Valentinus, who died five weeks after his accession. Gregory IV. had then ascended the Papal throne, with the sanction of the King of Italy, Lothair.^u The Pope may have placed himself in this unseemly position, supporting rebellious sons against the authority of their father, either from the desire of courting the favour of Lothair, who was all-powerful in Italy; or, it may be hoped, with the more becoming purpose of interposing his mediation, and putting an end to this unnatural conflict.

But the Emperor Louis and the clergy of his party beheld in Gregory an avowed enemy. He addressed a strong letter to the Frankish hierarchy assembled at Worms. Gregory's answer was in the haughty tone of later times: it was suggested by Wala,^x now again in the camp of the foes of Louis. But the enmity of the Pope was not so dangerous as what he called his friendly mediation. He appeared suddenly in the camp of Louis. The clergy, Fulco the chief chaplain, and the bishops, had the boldness to declare that, if he came to threaten them and their Imperial master with excommunication, they would in their turn excommunicate him, and send him back to

^u "Non prius ordinatus est, quam legatus Imperatoris Romani venit et electionem populi qualis esset examinavit."—Eginhard, p. 390.

^x "Unde ei dedimus (Wala, &c.)

nonnulla SS. Patrum auctoritate formata prædecessorumque suorum conscripta, quibus nullus contradicere possit, quod ejus esset potestas, imo Dei et B. Petri apostoli, suaque aucto-

Italy.^y There were even threats that they would depose him. Even the meek Emperor received the Pope with cold courtesy, and without the usual honours. He had summoned him indeed, but rather as a vassal than as a mediator. The Pope passed several days in the Imperial camp. Other influences were likewise at work. Unaccountably, imperceptibly, the army of Louis melted away like a heap of snow. The nobles, the ecclesiastics, the troops, gradually fell off and joined his sons. Louis found himself encircled only by a few faithful followers.^z "Go ye also to my sons," said the gentle Louis; "no one shall lose life or limb in my behalf."^a Weeping they left him. Ever after this ignominious place was named Lügenfeld, the field of falsehood.^b

June 29.

The Emperor, Judith his Queen, and their young son Charles, were now the prisoners of Lothair. The Emperor was at first treated with some marks of respect. Judith was sent into Italy, and imprisoned in the fortress of Tortona. The boy was conveyed to the abbey of Prüm: probably on account of his youth he escaped the tonsure. The sons divided the Empire;

itas ire, mittere ad omnes gentes pro fide Christi, et pace ecclesiarum, pro prædicatione evangelii et assertionem veritatis, et in eo esset omnis auctoritas B. Petri excellens et potestas viva, a quo oportet universos judicari ita ut ipse a nemine judicandus esset."—Vit. Walæ, xvi. It is curious to find the Pope, no humble Pope, needing this prompting from a Frankish monk, a higher High Churchman than the Pope. Yet I see nothing here of the false Decretals.

^y "Sed si excommunicans advenerit, excommunicatus abiet, cum aliter se

habeat antiquorum auctoritas canonum."—Thegan.

^z Of these were four bishops, his brother Drogo of Metz, Modoin of Autun, Wileich of Bremen, Aldric of Mons.

^a "Ite ad filios meos, nolo ut ullus propter me vitam aut membra dimittat. Illi infusi lacrymis recedebant ab eo."—Thegan, c. xlii.

^b "Qui ab eo quod ibi gestum est perpetua est ignominia notatus ut vocetur campus mentitus."—Astro-nom. Vit. Thegan calls it "*campus mendacii*."

the Pope, it is said, in great sorrow, returned to Rome.^c

Lothair was a man of cruelty, but he either feared or scrupled to take the life of his father. Yet he and his noble and episcopal partisans could not but dread another reaction in favour of the gentle Emperor. A Diet was held at Compiègne. They determined to incapacitate him by civil and ecclesiastical degradation for the resumption of his royal office. They compelled

Oct. 833. him to perform public penance in the church of St. Médard, at Soissons. There the Em-

peror, the father of three kings, before the shrine which contained the reliques of St. Médard and of St. Sebastian the Martyr, laid down upon the altar his armour and his imperial attire, put on a dark mourning robe, and read the long enforced confession of his crimes. Eight weary articles were repeated by his own lips. I. He confessed himself guilty of sacrilege and homicide, as having broken the solemn oath made on a former occasion before the clergy and the people; guilty of the blood of his kinsmen, especially of Prince Bernhard (whose punishment, extorted by the nobles, had been mitigated by Louis). II. He confessed himself guilty

Penance of Louis. of perjury, not only by the violation of his own oaths, but by compelling others to forswear themselves through his frequent changes in the partition of the Empire. III. He confessed himself guilty of a sin against God, by having made a military expedition during Lent, and having held a Diet on a high festival. IV. He confessed himself guilty of severe judgements against the partisans of his sons—whose lives he had spared by his merciful intervention! V. He

^c "Cum maximo dolore."—Astronom. Vit.

confessed himself again guilty of encouraging perjury, by permitting especially the Empress Judith to clear herself by an oath. VI. He confessed himself guilty of all the slaughter, pillage, and sacrilege committed during the civil wars. VII. He confessed himself guilty of having excited those wars by his arbitrary partitions of the Empire. VIII. And lastly, of having, by his general incapacity, brought the Empire, of which he was the guardian, to a state of total ruin. Having rehearsed this humiliating lesson, the Emperor laid the parchment on the altar, was stripped of his military belt, which was likewise placed there; and having put off his worldly dress, and assumed the garb of a penitent, was esteemed from that time incapacitated from all civil acts.

The most memorable part of this memorable transaction is, that it was arranged, conducted, accomplished in the presence and under the authority of the clergy. The permission of Lothair is slightly intimated; but the act was avowedly intended to display the strength of the ecclesiastical power, the punishment justly incurred by those who are disobedient to sacerdotal admonition.^d Thus the hierarchy assumed cognisance not over the religious delinquencies alone, but over the civil misconduct of the sovereign. They imposed an ecclesiastical penance, not solely for his asserted violation of his oaths before the altar, but for the ruin of the Empire. It is strange to see the pious sovereign, the one devout and saintly of his race, thus degraded by these haughty Churchmen, now, both high-born and low-born, concurring against him. The Pope

^d "Manifestare juxta injunctum nobis ministerium curavimus, qualis sit vigor et potestas sive ministerium sacerdotale, et qualis mereatur damnari sententiâ, qui monitis sacerdotalibus obedire noluerit."—Acta Exautorationis Ludov. Pii, apud Bouquet, v. p. 243.

had ostensibly, perhaps sincerely, hoped to reconcile the conflicting parties. His mission may have been designed as one of peace, but the inevitable consequence of his appearance in the rebellious camp could not but be to the disadvantage of Louis. He seemed at least to befriend the son in his unnatural warfare against his father. Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, issued a fierce apology for the rebellious sons of Louis, filled with accusations of incontinence against the Empress Judith.* Her beauty and the graces of her manner had even seduced the admiration of holy priests and bishops towards this Dalilah, who had dared to resume her royal dignity and conjugal rights after having taken the veil; to her he attributes all the weaknesses of the too easy monarch. In the words of the aristocratic Thegan, all the bishops were the enemies of Louis, especially those whom he had raised from a servile condition, or who were sprung from barbarous races. But there was one on whom Thegan pours out all his indignation. One was chosen, an impure and most inhuman man, to execute their cruel decrees, a man of servile origin, Ebbo, the Archbishop of Rheims. "Unheard-of words! Unheard-of deeds! They took the sword from his thigh; by the judgement of his servants he was clad in sackcloth; the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled—'Slaves have ruled over us.'† Oh, what a return for his goodness! He made thee free, noble he could not, for that an enfranchised slave cannot be. He clothed thee in purple and in pall, thou clothedst him in sackcloth; he raised thee to the highest bishopric, thou by unjust judgement hast expelled him from the throne of

* "Domina Palatii ludit | conludentibus, qui secundum formam
pueriliter, spectantibus etiam aliqui- | quam apostolus scribit de eligendis epis-
bus de ordine sacerdotali et plerisque | copis . . ." † Lamentat. v. 8.

his ancestors. O Lord Jesus! where was thy destroying angel when these things were done?" Thegan goes on to quote Virgil, and says that the poet would want the combined powers of Homer, Virgil, and Ovid to describe the guilt of these deeds. The miseries of Louis were greater than those of Job himself. The comforters of Job were kings, those of Louis slaves.^a

It is astonishing to find that this was the same Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who undertook a perilous mission to the heathen Northmen, brought the Danish King to the court of Louis to receive baptism, and is celebrated by the monkish poet of the day in the most glowing strains for his saintly virtues.^b

This strange and sudden revolution, which had left the Emperor at the mercy of his son, was followed by another no less sudden and strange. No doubt the pride of many warlike nobles was insulted by this display of ecclesiastical presumption. The degradation of the Emperor was the degradation of the Empire. The character of Louis, however, could not but command the fond attachment of many. The people felt the profoundest sympathy in his fate; and even among the clergy there were those who could not but think these insults an ungracious and unchristian return for his piety to God, his tenderness to man, his respect for the ecclesiastical order.^c A revulsion took place in the

^a "Qui beato Job insultabant Reges fuisse leguntur in libro beati Thome; qui illum vero affligebant, legales ejus servi erant, et patrum suorum."—Thegan. Vit. Ludov. xlv.

^b Ermoldi Nigelli, Carm. iv. Ermoldus makes Louis deliver a charge to Ebbo, when setting out to convert the Normans. Muenter, Geschichte der

Einführung des Christenthums in Dänemark und Norwegen, has collected the passages about Ebbo's mission.—Page 238 *et seqq.*

^c Nithard says, "Plebs autem non modica, quæ præsens erat, etiamque Lothario pro patre vim inferre volebat."—Apud Bouquet, p. 13. The Astrocnemer says on one occasion, "Miso-

whole nation. The other sons of the Emperor, Pepin and Louis, had taken no part in this humiliation of their father, and expressed their strong commiseration of his sufferings, their reprobation of the cruelty and insult heaped upon him. The murmurs of the people were too loud to be mistaken. Leaving his father at St. Denys, Lothair fled to Burgundy. No sooner had he retired than the whole Empire seemed to assemble, in loyal emulation, around the injured Louis.

But Louis would not resume his power, and his arms, the symbol of his power, but with the consent of the Bishops. His subjects' reviving loyalty could not remove the ecclesiastical incapacitation. But bishops were not wanting among those who thronged to renew

A.D. 834.

March 1.

their allegiance.^k Louis was solemnly re-girt with his arms by the hands of some of these prelates, and, amid the universal joy of the people, the Pious resumed the Empire. So great was the burst of feeling, that, in the language of his biographer, the very elements seemed to sympathise in the deliverance of the Emperor from his unnatural son. The weather, which had been wet and tempestuous, became clear and serene. Once more the Empress Judith returned to court;^m and Louis might again enjoy his quiet hunting and fishing, and his ascetic usages, in the forest of Ardennes. Yet it was not a bloodless revolution. The

Aug. 834.

armies of Louis and Lothair encountered near Châlons. That unfortunate town was burned by the victorious Lothair, whose savage ferocity did

ratio tamen hujusce rei et talis rerum permutationis, exceptis authoribus omnes habebat."—c. 39.

^k Among these, Otgar of Mentz, who had been present at his penance

in Soissons.

^m The empress was brought from Tortona by officious nobles, eager to merit the gratitude of the restored emperor.

not spare even females. Not content with the massacre of a son of Duke Bernhard in cold blood, his sister was dragged from her convent, shut up in a wine-cask, and thrown into the Saône.ⁿ

But the year after a pestilence made such ravages in the army of Lothair, that he was obliged to return into Italy. Before long he had to deplore the death of almost all his great Transalpine partisans, Wala, Count Hugo, Matfrid, Jesse of Amiens. During this time a Diet at Thionville had annulled the proceedings of that at Compiègne. In a solemn assembly at Metz, eight archbishops^o and thirty-five bishops condemned the acts of themselves and their rebellious brethren at that assembly. In the cathedral of Metz, seven archbishops chanted the seven prayers of reconciliation, and the Emperor was then held to be absolutely reinvested in his civil and religious supremacy. At a later Diet at Cremieux, near Lyons, Ebbo of Rheims (the chief chaplain, Fulco, the faithful adherent of Louis, who had defied the Pope in his cause, aspired to the metropolitan sec) submitted to deposition.^p He was imprisoned in the abbey of Fulda. Yet Rome must be consulted before the degradation is complete, at all events before the successor is consecrated. Agobard of Lyons was condemned. The Archbishop of Vienne appeared not he incurred sentence of deposition for his contumacy. The Archbishop of Narbonne, and other bishops, were deposed. A new division of the Empire took place at a later diet at Worms, in which Lothair received only Italy: the Transalpine dominions were divided between

A.D. 836.

Feb. 28.

June, 836.

ⁿ "More maleficorum," says Nitharu'. No doubt the punishment of a witch.—Apud Bouquet, p. 13.

^o Mentz, Treves, Rouen, Tours, Sens, Bourges, Arles, even Ebbo of Rheims.
^p Funck, p. 153, with authorities

the three other sons, Pepin, Louis, and Charles; the Empress Judith secured the first step to equality in favour of her son.¹

The few remaining years of the life of Louis were still distracted by the unallayed feuds in his family. A visit of devotion to Rome was prevented by a descent of the Normans, who had long ravaged the coasts of France. A new partition was made at Nimeguen; Charles was solemnly crowned

May,
A.D. 837.

The Empress Judith contrived to bring about a reconciliation between Lothair and his father, to the advantage of her own son Charles,² and a division of interests between Lothair and his brothers, Louis of

Bavaria and Pepin of Aquitaine. Pepin, King of Aquitaine, died, and the claims of his children to the succession were disregarded. Judith

knit still closer the alliance of the Emperor and the elder son. Yet one more partition. With the exception of Bavaria, with which Louis was obliged to be content, the Empire was divided between Lothair and the son of Judith.

The death of Louis was in harmony with his life. In a state of great weakness (an eclipse of the sun had thrown him into serious alarm, and from that day he began to fail³), he persisted in strictly observing the forty days of Lent; the Eucharist was his only food. Almost his last words were expressive of forgiveness to his son Louis, who was in arms against him,⁴ and "bringing down his grey hairs in sorrow to

May 5,
A.D. 839.

¹ Carta Divisionis, Bouquet, vi. 411; compare Funck, 158, 9.

² Astronomus, l. ii. Nithard, p. 14, lib. i.

³ Annales Francorum, F. adenses Bertiniani, sub ann.

⁴ Louis of Bavaria had not rushed into war without provocation. The Emperor had at least sanctioned the last partition, which left him a narrow kingdom, while Lothair and his younger brother shared the realm of Charlemagne.

the grave." He continued, while he had strength, to hold the crucifix, which contained a splinter of the true cross, to his breast; when his strength failed, he left that office to Drogo, Bishop of Metz, his natural brother, who, with the Archbishops of Treves and Mentz, attended his dying hours. His last words were the German, *aus, aus*. His attendants supposed that he was bidding an evil spirit, of whose presence he was conscious, *avaunt*. He then lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, with serenity approaching to a smile, expired.^u

June 20,
A.D. 840.

Christian history has dwelt at some length on the life of this monarch. His appellation, the Pious, shows what the religion was which was held in especial honour in his day, its strength and its weakness, its virtue, and what in a monarch can hardly escape the name of vice. It displays the firmer establishment of a powerful and aristocratic clergy, not merely in that part of Europe which became the French monarchy, but also in great part of trans-Rhenane Germany; the manner in which they attained and began to exercise that power; the foundation, in short, of great national Churches, in acknowledged subordination, if not always in rigid obedience, to the See of Rome, but also mingling at times with overruling weight, in all the temporal affairs of each kingdom.

But throughout the reign of Louis the Pious, not only did the Empire assert this supremacy in ecclesiastical as in temporal affairs; Teutonic independence maintained its ground, more perhaps than its ground, on the great question of image-worship.

^u Louis died on an island of the Rhine, opposite to Ingelheim.

The Council of Paris enforced the solemn decree of the Council of Frankfort. The Iconoclastic Byzantine Emperor, Michael the Stammerer, entered A.D. 824. into negotiations with the Western Emperor, of which the manifest object was to compel the Pope at least to amity, and to recede from the decrees of the second Council of Nicæa asserted by his predecessors. The ambassadors of Constantinople appeared in Rome, accompanied by ambassadors from Louis. The Pope Eugenius, who owed his Popedom to the Franks, who sat on his throne only through their support, was in great embarrassment: he was obliged to elude what he dared not oppose. At no other time could a Claudius of Turin. bishop like Claudius of Turin have acted the fearless Iconoclast in an Italian city, removed all images and pictures, condemned even the cross, and lived and died, if not unassailed by angry controversialists, yet unrebuked by any commanding authority, undegraded, and in the full honours of a Bishop. Claudius was a Spaniard who acquired fame as a commentator on the Scriptures in the court of Louis at Aquitaine. Among the first acts of Louis as Emperor was the promotion of Claudius to the bishopric of Turin. The stern reformer at once began to wage war on what he deemed the superstitions of the people. Claudius went much further than the temperate decrees of the Council of Frankfort. Images were to him idols; the worship of the cross godlessness. Turin was overawed by his vigorous authority. A strong party, not the most numerous, espoused his cause. He was not unopposed. The Abbot Theodemir, of a monastery near Nismes; Dungal, a Scot, a learned theologian of Pavia, Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, denounced his doctrines. But Theodemir in-

generously confesses that most of the great Transalpine prelates thought with Claudius.* Agobard of Lyons published a famous treatise, if not in defence of Claudius, maintaining in their utmost strength the decrees of Frankfort.

But it was not on image-worship alone that Claudius of Turin advanced opinions premature and anticipative of later times. The apostolic office of St. Peter ceased with the life of St. Peter. The power of the keys passed to the whole episcopal order. The Bishop of Rome had apostolic power only in so far as he led an apostolic life.

It is difficult to suppose but that some tradition or succession to the opinions of Claudius of Turin lay concealed in the valleys of the Piedmontese Alps, to appear again after many centuries.

* *Opusculi*, 111, p. 736.

CHAPTER III.

Saracens in Italy.

THE Carolingian Empire expired with Louis the Pious. It separated, not so much into three kingdoms, as into three nations. Germany, France, and Italy, though governed each by a descendant of Charlemagne, and for a short time re-united under the sceptre of Charles the Fat, began to diverge more widely in their social institutions, in their form of government, in the manners and character of the people.

The imperial title was, in general, assumed by that one of the sons or grandsons of Louis the Pious who was master of Italy. First Lothair, and then his son, Louis II., was Emperor, King of Italy, and Sovereign of the city of Rome. The right to ratify, if not the election, the consecration of the Pope, was among the imperial privileges asserted with the greatest rigour and determination.^a At the close of the uneventful pontificate of Gregory IV.,—uneventful as far as the affairs of Rome, not uneventful to those who could discern the slow but steady advancement of hierarchical pretensions^b—the Emperor Lothair heard with indignation that the clergy and people of Rome had elected Sergius II., a Roman of noble birth, and from his youth trained in ecclesiastical

^a Annal. Bertiniani.

^b See the famous letter of Gregory IV. ad Episcopos, written, it should seem, under the influence of the Abbot Wala. See note, p. 135.

duties ; and that Sergius, contrary to the solemn treaty, had been at once consecrated, without awaiting his good pleasure.^c The Romans had expelled John, a deacon, chosen by some of the low and rustic people.^d The haughty nobles had insisted on the condemnation of the audacious usurper. Sergius interposed to save his life. Again, we see the commonalty and the nobles in fierce strife ; but the nobles, grown haughty, are less humbly imperialist. Lothair despatched immediately his son Louis with an army, and accompanied by Drogo Bishop of Metz, to punish, perhaps to degrade, the presumptuous prelate. The Franks, whose natural ferocity had not been abated by years of civil war, as if to show the resentment of the Emperor, committed frightful ravages. From the borders of the Roman territory to Bologna they advanced, wasting as they went, towards Rome. But Pope Sergius knew the strength of his position, and put forth all his religious grandeur to control the mind of the young invader. A fortunate tempest had already shaken the minds of the Franks : some of the followers of the Bishop of Metz had been struck dead by lightning, but still the army advanced with menacing haste.^e

Nine miles from the city Louis was met by the civil authorities, with banners flying and loud acclamations, the military *schools*, or bands, and the people under their various standards, chanting hymns and songs of welcome. As he came nearer, the sacred

Louis, son
of Lothair,
in Rome.

^c Anastasius, Vit. Sergii ; Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 844.

^d " Imperito et agresti populo."—Vit. Serg.

^e " Hoc viuentes horribile signum

nimis omnes timore Franci correpti sunt. Sed nullatenus mente ferocitatem deponentes, atroci voluntate ad urbem velociter properabant."—Vit. Sergii.

crosses, which were usually reserved to grace the entrance of the Emperor into the city, were seen advancing towards him. Louis was seized with pious fear and joy at these unexpected honours. On the steps up to the church of St. Peter he was met and embraced by the pope. They proceeded, Louis at the right hand of the pope, to the silver-plated doors of the church, which, however, were jealously closed. Then the Pope, by the suggestion, it was said, of the Holy Ghost, addressed the king,—“Comest thou with a pure heart and mind for the welfare of the republic, and of the whole world, and of this Church? If so, I will command that the gates be opened; if otherwise never, with my consent, shalt thou enter therein.” The king protested that he came with no hostile or evil intent. At the touch of the prelate the doors flew open, the whole clergy burst out in the accordant chant, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” The Frank army, in the mean

time, were not permitted to enter the city,
June 15. the gates of which were strongly guarded by the militia of Rome. A few days after Louis was anointed King of Lombardy. The Franks insisted on the Pope and the patricians of Rome swearing fealty to the king. They resolutely refused to acknowledge any allegiance but to the Emperor himself.

The degraded archbishops, Ebbo of Rheims, Bartholomew of Narbonne, prayed to be restored to their sees and their honours; but Drogo of Metz, the brother and faithful adherent of Louis the Pious, was at the head of the Frankish army. The Pope would grant them the humiliating permission to communicate, but to communicate only with the common people. Drogo, Bishop of Metz, son of the glorious Emperor Charlès the

Great, was appointed with the fullest powers Vicar of the Pope beyond the Alps.^f

Sergius died after a pontificate of three years. An unforeseen necessity enforced the immediate election of his successor, Leo IV.^g The impulse of Mohammedan invasion against the still narrowing boundaries of Christendom had by no means ceased. The Saracen fleets were masters of the Mediterranean. Sicily, with the exception of Syracuse, which made a gallant defence for some years, was in their hands.^h They had conquered Calabria, were rapidly advancing northwards, and subduing the parts of the province which still owned allegiance to the Byzantine Empire.ⁱ Rome herself beheld the Moslemin at her gates; the suburban churches of St. Peter and St. Paul were plundered; the capital of Christendom was in danger of becoming a Mohammedan city.^k The Moslemin retired on the advance of an army of Franks, according to some authorities, under the command of King Louis himself; but they retreated only to inflict a shameful defeat on the Christians, and then sate down to besiege Gaeta. The great riches of the monastery of Monte Casino escaped only by an opportune rising of the river Garigliano, attributed by the grateful monks to a miracle.^m

^f Vit. Sergii.

^g It is observed that under Leo IV. the form of address of the papal letters is changed. With two exceptions, the name of the person addressed is placed after that of the Pope: the title *Dominus* is dropped.—Garnier, in Not. ad Lib. Pontiff. Planck, iii. p. 29.

^h The progress of the Saracens was aided by the feuds among the Lombard dukes. The princes of Spoleto and

Benevento and Naples had been at continual war with each other. For details, see Anonym. Salernit.

ⁱ Famin (*Histoire des Invasions des Sarrasins en Italie*) describes the conquest of Sicily, and the first invasions of Italy, c. iv.—Annal. Met. Annal. Bertin. sub ann. 846. Baronius sub ann.

^k Famin, p. 199.

^m The abbey, however, had already

But these terrible strangers might at any time return to invest the city of St. Peter. Whether to avert the danger by his prayers, to summon the Frank Protector with more commanding voice, or to strengthen the city by his administration, a Pope appeared instantly necessary to the nobles, clergy, and people of Rome." With the utmost haste, but with reservation of the imperial rights, infringed only on account of the exigencies of

Jan. 847.

the time, Leo IV. was elected, consecrated, and assumed the functions of pope. The Romans were released from their immediate terrors by the destruction of the Saracen fleet in a tempest off Gaeta. Another legend ascribed this disaster to the insulted and plundered apostles."

Leo's first care was to provide for the future security of the Vatican and the church of St. Peter. He carried out the design, before entertained by Leo III., of forming a new suburb, surrounded by strong fortifications, on the right bank of the Tiber, which might at once protect the most hallowed edifice of Christendom, and receive the fugitives who might be driven from the city by hostile incursions, perhaps by civil insurrections. This part of Rome perpetuated the name of the pope, as the Leonine city.

The eight years of Leo's papacy^p were chiefly occupied

been plundered by Siconulf, Duke of Benevento, on pretence of employing its wealth in the wars against the Saracens. The whole account is minute and curious. Anonym. Salern. apud Muratori, Script. Ital., p. 266. According to Famin, it was taken and plundered A.D. 844; yet he quotes the statement of Baronius, which implies that it was first threatened by the Saracens in 844.—Baronius sub

ann. Compare Tosti. Storia di Monte Casino, i. p. 43, &c.

ⁿ "Hoc timore et futuro casu perterriti, cum sine permissione principis consecraverant: fidem quoque illius, sive honorem, post Deum per omnia et in omnibus conservantes."—Anas. as in Vit. Leon. IV.

^o Baronius in loc.

^p Leo died A.D. 855, July 17.

in strengthening, in restoring the plundered and desecrated churches of the two apostles, and adorning Rome. The succession to Leo IV. was contested between Benedict III., who commanded the suffrages of the clergy and people, and Anastasius, who, at the head of an armed faction, seized the Lateran, stripped Benedict of his pontifical robes, and awaited the confirmation of his violent usurpation by the Imperial Legates, whose influence he thought that he had secured. But these Commissioners, after strict investigation, decided in favour of Benedict. Anastasius was expelled with disgrace from the Lateran, his rival consecrated in the presence of the Emperor's representatives. Anastasius, with unwonted mercy, was only degraded to lay communion.

Sept.
A.D. 855.

Sept. 29.

The pontificate of Benedict III. is memorable chiefly for the commencement of the long strife between Ignatius and Photius for the see of Constantinople. This strife ended in the permanent schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.

CHAPTER IV.

Nicolas I. Ignatius and Photius.

NICOLAS I., the successor of Benedict, was chosen rather by the favour of the Emperor Louis and his nobles than that of the clergy.* He has been thought worthy to share the appellation of the Great with Leo I., with Gregory I., with Hildebrand, and with Innocent III. At least three great events signalised the pontificate of Nicolas I.,—the strife of Photius with Ignatius for the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople; the prohibition of the divorce of King Lothair from his Queen Theutberga; and the humiliation of the great prelates on the Rhine, the successful assertion of the papal supremacy even over Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. In the first two of these momentous questions, the contest about the see of Constantinople, and that of Lothair, King of Lorraine, with his wife Theutberga, Nicolas took his stand on the great eternal principles of justice, humanity, and sound morals. These were no questions of abstruse and subtile theology nor the assertion of dubious rights. In both cases the Pope was the protector of the feeble and the oppressed, the victims of calumny and of cruelty. The Bishop of Constantinople, unjustly deposed, persecuted, exiled, treated with the worst inhumanity, implored the judgement of the head of Western Christendom. A queen

* Prudent. Trecens. apud Pertz, i. 142. Vit. Nicolai I.

not only deserted by a weak and cruel husband, but wickedly and falsely criminated by a council of bishops, obtained a hearing at the Court of Rome: her innocence was vindicated, her accusers punished, the king himself compelled to bow before the majesty of justice, made more venerable by religion. If in both cases the language of Nicolas was haughty and imperious, it was justified to the ears of men by the goodness of his cause. The lofty supremacy which he asserted over the see of Byzantium awoke no jealousy, being exerted in behalf of a blameless and injured prelate. If he treated the royal dignity of France with contempt, it had already become contemptible in the eyes of mankind; if he annulled by his own authority the decree of a national council, composed of the most distinguished prelates of Gaul, that council had already been condemned by all who had natural sympathies with justice and with innocence. Yet, though in both cases Nicolas displayed equal ability and resolution in the cause of right, the event of the two affairs was very different. The dispute concerning the patriarchate of Constantinople ended in the estrangement, the alienation, the final schism between the East and West. It was the last time that the Pope was permitted authoritatively to interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of the East. The excommunication of the Greek by the Latin Church was the final act of separation. In the West Nicolas established a precedent for control even over the private morals of princes. The vices of kings, especially those of France, became the stronghold of papal influence: injured queens and subjects knew to what quarter they might recur for justice or for revenge. And on this occasion the Pope brought not only the impotent king, but the powerful clergy of Lorraine, beneath his feet

the great Bishops of Cologne and of Treves were reduced to abject humiliation.

The contention for the Patriarchate of Constantinople was, strictly speaking, no religious controversy,—it was the result of political intrigue and personal animosity. Ignatius, who became the Patriarch, was of imperial descent. In the revolution which dethroned his father, Michael Rhangabe, he had taken refuge, under the cowl of a monk, from the jealousy of Leo the Armenian. The monasteries in the islands of Platos, Hyathos, and Terebinthus, were peopled by the devout followers of Ignatius. They were the refuge of all who were persecuted for the worship of images; and to Ignatius, during that reign, the monkish and anti-Iconoclastic party looked up as a protector and a model of the austere virtue.^b From these peaceful solitudes he had been summoned by the Empress Theodora, the mother and guardian of the Emperor Michael III. the Drunkard, to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. His devout zeal led him to rebuke the Cæsar Bardas for his incestuous life. Bardas had divorced his own wife, and lived publicly with his son's widow. Ignatius openly repelled him from the communion. So long as the Empress Theodora, the sister of Bardas, protected the Patriarch, the Cæsar had no hope of vengeance; his ambition as well as his vindictiveness urged him to involve them both in common ruin. He persuaded the young Emperor no longer to endure the disgrace of female rule; and, in order to secure the full exercise of authority, counselled him to remove not only his imperious mother, and even his sisters, from the Court,

* It must be remembered that our chief authority is Nicetas, the biographer of Ignatius, as fervent an admirer as any adoring hagiologist.

but to seclude them altogether from the world. The Patriarch was commanded to dedicate these unwilling votaries to a religious life. Ignatius appealed to the canons of the Church, which allowed no one to take the vows but of their own free will; and steadily resisted the Imperial commands. A groundless charge was soon invented of treasonable correspondence with a pretender to the Empire. Ignatius was banished to his old retreat in the island of Terebinthus. As Nov. 23, 857. no power or persuasion could induce him to resign his patriarchal dignity, he was declared to be deposed, and a new Patriarch appointed in his place.

Photius was chosen as his successor. Of illustrious birth,^e having discharged all the great offices of the State with consummate ability, and risen to its very highest dignity, Photius was esteemed the most learned and accomplished man of his age. In grammar, oratory, even in physical science, in every branch of knowledge and letters, except poetry, he stood alone. His ambition was boundless as his industry and learning; and his acceptance of the Patriarchal See may show the transcendant estimation in which ecclesiastical dignity was held in the East as in the West. Photius was Dec. 25, 857. but a layman: in six successive days he passed through the inferior orders up to the Patriarchate.

The bishops, it is said, assented to the elevation of Photius on the express condition that he should treat his deposed rival with respect and generosity. But so long as Ignatius had not consented to resign his See, the tenure of the Bishopric was insecure. Ignatius and the bishops of his party suffered every kind of wanton

^e The patriarch Tarasius was his great uncle; another uncle had married the sister of the Empress Theodora and of Bardas.

cruelty; their sacred persons were not revered; some were beaten and exiled to remote and inhospitable parts of the Empire. One accused of too great liberty of speech had his tongue cut out.^d The high-born and blameless Patriarch himself was seized, carried away from his splendid and peaceful monastery, loaded with chains, hurried from one desolate place to another, and at last confined in Mitylene. Rival councils met, and the two Patriarchs were alternately excommunicated by the adverse spiritual factions.

Photius was the first to determine on an appeal to Rome. The Pope, he thought, would hardly resist the acknowledgment of his superiority, with the tempting promise of the total extirpation of the hated Iconoclasts. The Emperor sent a solemn embassy, entreating that Legates might be commissioned to assist him in his holy work, and to restore the decaying discipline. On the part of Photius four bishops were sent to assure the Pope that Ignatius, oppressed by age and infirmities, had retired from the Bishopric; that in his retirement he was treated with profound respect; that Photius had been lawfully chosen to the vacant See. He added the most humble asseverations of his own conscious unworthiness, and the strong reluctance with which he had undertaken the awful function. "The clergy, the bishops, the emperor, benignant to all, cruel to me alone, without listening to my entreaties, untouched by my tears, have compelled me to bear this heavy burthen."^e

^d Photius, in a remarkable letter to the Cæsar, deprecates in the strongest terms these barbarities.—Epist. vi.

^e Photii, Epist. i. ad Nicol. Papam. It has been reprinted in a *Vie de Photius*, by the Abbé Jager, one of

those modern French works which would disdain the praise of candour and impartiality. I shall not accuse him of it. But M. Jager deserves the praise of justly appreciating the high merit of Photius, for his day most

Nicolas was no doubt better acquainted than was supposed with the state of ecclesiastical affairs in the East. He answered with caution and dignity, that his legates could only judge on the spot as to the validity of the very questionable ordination of Photius. In the presence of his legates and a lawful council Ignatius must acknowledge his resignation. Sept. 25, 860.

In his reply to the Emperor, Nicolas seized the opportunity of reclaiming the estates of the Church in Sicily, and the jurisdiction over Illyricum, Epirus, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece, which had been usurped by the Archbishop of Thessalonica. Throughout the behaviour and language of Nicolas there is no sign of admitted subjection to the Eastern emperor: even its tradition seems forgotten. He writes as a great independent religious potentate, as the head of Christendom, treating the Emperor at first with the courtesy becoming a powerful sovereign, but not as one to whom himself owed allegiance.

The legates, with this calm and guarded reply, arrived at Constantinople, to the disappointment of Photius and of the Emperor. Photius was indignant that he was not acknowledged under his title of bishop; the Emperor received the legates, not as ambassadors from a foreign power, but as insolent subjects. They were imprisoned, threatened with banishment: they yielded to these sterner or to milder means of persuasion, to direct bribery.^f Ignatius was summoned to appear before a

unusually accomplished as a scholar; and the extraordinary beauty of some of his letters, a merit very rare in Greek literature.

Anastasius (in Vit. Nicolai I.) and the Pope himself (Epist. x. ad Clerum Constantin.) assert distinctly that

they were bribed. The most extraordinary menace was, that not only they should suffer exile, but be food for vermin from their own bodies. "Longa exilia et diuturnas pediculorum comessationes." This might seem beneath the dignity of history

council in the presence of the papal legates. This council boasted that it was formed of exactly the same number of prelates as sate in the venerable assembly at Nicæa. The Patriarch's firmness for a time stayed the proceedings. He demanded who the legates were, and for what purpose they sate in Constantinople? They replied that they were the legates of Nicolas, the supreme pontiff, sent to judge his cause.^g "First," answered the intrepid Patriarch, who appeared in the garb of a simple monk, "drive out the adulterer. If ye cannot, ye are no judges." He appealed to the Pope in person. The council pronounced his deposition; and as it were, to propitiate the Pope, in their second session condemned Iconoclasm. But this was not enough. Still all means of persuasion and cruelty were used to extort the resignation of Ignatius.^h At length, it is said, while he lay senseless in his prison, his unconscious hand was forced to trace the sign of a cross on a blank paper, on which Photius superscribed a confession of his uncanonical election to the Patriarchate, which he had ruled as an usurper and a tyrant. In possession of this document,

were it not in the Pope's own letter, and so, it should seem, rests on the authority of the Legates themselves.—Also, Phot. Epist. vi. p. 286.

^g The Legates suppressed the parts of the Pope's letter which warned them to decide nothing, and read only that which related to the Iconoclasts.

^h If we are to believe the monkish writers, the cruelty of all orders even to ecclesiastics of the highest rank shows a most savage state of manners. The ingenious tortures inflicted on

Ignatius, it is said, by command of the Emperor and of Photius, are absolutely revolting. Another respectable prelate, who had been Bishop of Crete at the time of the Saracen conquest, now become Bishop of Thessalonica, ventured during an earthquake to remonstrate with the young Emperor against his profane mimicry of the religious ceremonies of the Church, he was beaten so as to knock out two of his teeth, and scourged almost to death.—Nicet. Vit. Ignat., Labbe, p. 1218.

Photius allowed his rival a short interval of repose.^l He was permitted to retire to a palace which had belonged to his mother. Rumours of new and more horrible persecutions meditated against him induced him to fly from the capital.^k He found means to baffle his pursuers; till an earthquake, as in the time of his great predecessor, Chrysostom, shook Constantinople with guilty dread, and seemed the voice of Heaven rebuking the unjust usage of the Patriarch. He was permitted to return to the city.

In the mean time the sentence of his deposition by the Synod of Constantinople had been communicated to the Pope, with a letter of great length from Photius.^m The Pope took at once the highest ground. He summoned a council of the Roman Church; disclaimed his weak and unauthorised legates, and in the presence of the imperial ambassador refused his consent to the deposal of Ignatius, to the elevation of Photius.

Not merely did he address two lofty and condemnatory letters to the Emperor and to Photius, but a third,

^l Photius is accused of forgery, or of conniving at the forgery of two favourable letters from the Pope. The trick was detected by the Cæsar Bardas. — Nicet. in Vit.

^k Among the cruelties and insults which Photius is charged with heaping on his rival, he is said to have given him up shamelessly to the mockery of mimes and stage-players. "Et ad illudendum mimis et scenicis inverecundè proderes." — Nicol. ad Phot. Epist. x. p. 372.

^m Part of this letter is striking and beautiful. Photius describes, with seeming sincerity, the enjoyments of his state as a layman, in the society

of his attached friends and the quiet study of letters, and his profound regret that he had abandoned those more congenial occupations. *ἐξέπεσον εἰρηρικῆς ζωῆς, ἐξέπεσον γαλήνης γλυκείας. ἐξέπεσον δὲ καὶ δόξης (εἴπερ τισὶ καὶ κοσμικῆς δόξης ἔφεσις), ἐξέπεσον τῆς φίλης ἡσυχίας, τῆς καθαρᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ ἡδίστης μετὰ τῶν πλησίων συνουσίας, τῆς ἀλύπου, καὶ ἀδόλου, καὶ ἀνεπιπλήκτου συναποστροφῆς.* The latter part vindicates his sudden promotion from the rank of a layman to the patriarchate, by the unanswerable examples of his predecessors Nestorius and Tarasius, and that of St. Ambrose of Milan.

also, to "the faithful in the East," at the close of which he made known to the three Eastern Patriarchs A.D. 862. his steadfast resolution to maintain the cause of Ignatius, to refuse the recognition of the usurper Photius. He called upon them to concur in the decrees of the Apostolic See.

Early in the next year a monk named Theognetus, a messenger of Ignatius, appeared in Rome with the full account of all the hard usage endured by A.D. 863. his master. A more august council was now summoned, of which the first act was to degrade and excommunicate Zacharias, one of the papal legates, for his weakness in consenting to the deposition of Ignatius. The Pope then pronounced the unanimous sentence of Decree against Photius. condemnation against Photius; recounting his offences, and involving under the same anathema Gregory, Bishop of Syracuse, who had presumed to consecrate the usurper of the Constantinopolitan See.ⁿ All the acts of Photius, especially his ordinations, were declared null and void. The restoration of Ignatius was commanded even in more imperious language, and under more awful sanctions. "We, by the power committed to us by our Lord through St. Peter, restore our brother Ignatius to his former station, to his see, to his dignity as Patriarch and to all the honours of his office. Whoever, after the promulgation of this decree, shall presume to disturb him in the exercise of his office, separate from his communion, or dare to judge him anew, without the consent of the Apostolic See, if

ⁿ Nicolas neglected no means of carrying his point. He did not disdain female influence. Besides letters to the clergy of the East, and to the senate of Constantinople, he wrote to the mother and to the wife of the Emperor to maintain the cause of Ignatius, to reject the adulterer of the see, the usurper, the neophyte Photius. —Epist. Nicol. I.

a clerk, shall share the eternal punishment of the traitor Judas; if a layman, he has incurred the malediction of Canaan: he is excommunicated, and will suffer the same fearful sentence from the eternal Judge."

Never had the power of the clergy or the supremacy of Rome been asserted so distinctly, so inflexibly. The privileges of Rome were eternal, immutable, anterior to, derived from no synod or council, but granted directly by God himself: they might be assailed, but not transferred; torn off for a time, but not plucked up by the roots. An appeal was open to Rome from all the world, from her authority lay no appeal.*

The Emperor and Constantinople paid no regard to these terrible anathemas of the Pope. As long as he possessed the favour of the Emperor, Photius remained in undisturbed possession of his see. An angry correspondence was kept up between the Emperor and the Pope. In the Emperor's letter he seems (for his letter is only known by the Pope's reply) to have addressed the Pope as a refractory and contumacious subject. He threatens Rome itself with fire and sword. Nicolas maintains his haughty independence,^p treats these idle

* The Emperor, it appears, had demanded that his disloyal subject, the monk Theognetus, the messenger of Ignatius to Rome, should be delivered up. "Many thousands," replies the Pope, "come to Rome every year, and place themselves devoutly under the protection of St. Peter. We have the power of summoning monks, and even clergy, from every part of the world: you, O Emperor, have no such power; you have nothing to do with monks, but humbly to entreat their prayers." Never would he surrender to a worldly sovereign a monk, who

by his profession declared his contempt for palaces, for all the honours, dignities, and gifts which kings could bestow.

^p The Emperor (or was it the insolence of the Greek scholar Photius?) had spoken of the Latin language as a barbarous Scythian jargon. The indignant Pope replies, that to censure that language is to censure its maker, God; that it was one of the languages inscribed on the Cross; that the Scythians are idolaters, and only use Latin to worship God; that some of the services even in the churches of

menaces with contempt. He significantly reminds the Emperor of the fate of Sennacherib; and tauntingly reproaches him with his dastardly submission to the Saracens. "We have not invaded Crete; we have not depopulated Sicily; we have not subdued the countless provinces of Greece; we have not burned the churches in the very suburbs of Constantinople; yet, while these pagans conquer, waste, burn with impunity, we Catholic Christians are menaced with the vain terrors of your arms. Ye release Barabbas, and put Christ to death." Nicolas concludes with evoking the whole cause to Rome, cites the two conflicting parties, Ignatius and Photius at least by his representative, as well as the other bishops personally, to submit themselves to his tribunal. On the faithful fulfilment of these terms, he will condescend to allow the Emperor to communicate with the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, with himself specially, and his brother priest, Ignatius. In conclusion, he ominously reminds him of the fate of the Emperors, the persecutors of the Church, Nero, Diocletian, Constantius, Anastasius; the glory of those who have been its faithful friends and servants. In another letter—the strife was now dragging on its fourth year—Nicolas enjoins the Emperor to burn the blasphemous and filthy letter with which he has dared to insult the Holy See; if he refuses, the Pope will himself summon an assembly of prelates, anathematise all who favour or maintain these documents, and, to his eternal disgrace, cause the Emperor's missive publicly to be suspended over a slow

Constantinople were in Latin. "Let the Emperor cease to call himself Emperor of the Romans, &c. abstain from insulting the Roman language." It is curious to see Latin on the defensive

fire in the sight of all the nations who reverence the throne of St. Peter.

At length Photius determined to keep no terms with his unrelenting adversary. The letters no doubt of the Emperor asserted, among other Photius. blasphemies, so called at Rome, the independence of the Byzantine See. He must now maintain that independence. All his submission, the tempting lure which he had offered, the total suppression of Iconoclasm, had been treated with scorn: he had found himself strangely mistaken in the man whom he had encountered in the papal chair; he might have supposed Nicolas, like one of his immediate predecessors, only the head of a faction in Rome, the timid vassal of the Western emperor. Nicolas, as he knew, was involved in the strife with King Lothair, on account of the repudiation of his wife.

Pope Nicolas was now the aggressor. Bardas, the protector of Photius, suspected or known to aspire to the Empire, had been cut to pieces.^a Michael ruled alone, or rather had surrendered the rule to Basil the Macedonian, soon to supplant him in the Empire. A new legation arrived at Constantinople: it demanded that Photius and Ignatius should be sent to Rome for judgement. But Photius had changed with Nov. 866. the times; his skilful flatteries had secured the protection of Michael, or he was too strong not to be protected. The fame, the accomplishments, the acknowledged eloquence,^b even the virtues of Photius had now obtained great influence with all orders.

In the year 867 he had summoned a council at Con-

^a A letter to Bardas likewise appears; it must, I think, be of earlier date: Nicolas can hardly have been ignorant of his fate six months before.

^b The young, it is said, crowded in rapture to the schools, where he still delivered his attractive lectures.

stantinople: the obsequious prelates listened to the ar-
 raignment, and joined in the counter excom-
 Synod at munication, of Pope Nicolas. Photius drew up
 Constanti- nople. eight articles inculcating in one the faith, in the rest
 the departure of the See of Rome from ancient and
 canonical discipline.* Among the dreadful acts of
 heresy and schism which were to divide for ever the
 Churches of the East and West were:—I. The observ-
 ance of Saturday as a fast. II. The permission to eat
 milk or cheese during Lent. IV. The restriction of the
 chrism to the bishops. VI. The promotion of deacons
 at once to the episcopal dignity. VII. The consecration
 of a lamb, according to the hated Jewish usage. VIII. The
 shaving of their beards by the clergy. The fifth only
 of the articles objected by Photius, the procession
 of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, was
 an error so awful as to deserve a thousand anathemas.
 The third, condemning the enforced celibacy of the
 clergy, was alone of high moral or religious importance.
 "From this usage we see, in the West," says Photius,
 "so many children who know not their fathers." These,
 however, were but the pretexts for division. The cause
 lay deeper, in the total denial of the papal supremacy
 by the Greeks; their unequivocal assertion that with
 the Empire that supremacy had passed to Constanti-
 nople.†

The decree of the council boasted the signature of the
 Emperor (obtained, it was said, in an hour of drunken-

* These were mostly the points of difference which in his letter to Nicolas he had treated as of no importance.

† "Cum etiam gloriantur et perhibeant quando de Romanâ urbe Imperatores Constantinopolin sunt translati, hinc et primatum Romanæ sedis ad Constantinopolitanam ecclesiam transmigrasse, et cum dignitatibus regis etiam ecclesiæ Romanæ privilegia."—Epist. lxx. Nicol. I. ad Hincmar. p. 472.

ness); of Basil the Macedonian, averred (most improbably) to have been forged; of the three Eastern Patriarchs; of the senate and the great officers; of abbots and bishops to the number of nearly one thousand.

But the episcopal messenger who was to bear to Rome this defiance of the Church of Constantinople and the counter-excommunication of the pope, had proceeded but a short way on his journey when he was stopped by the orders of the new emperor. A revolution in the palace was a revolution in the Church of Constantinople. The Drunkard was an ill-omened name for the patron of a bishop—and the drunkenness of Michael aggravated rather than excused his profane diversions. It was said to be his common amusement to mimic with low and dissolute companions the holiest rites of the Church. This unworthy monarch was hurled from his throne; another Emperor ruled in the East. Sept. 24, 867. The first act of Basil the Macedonian was to depose Photius. Photius is said to have refused the communion to the murderer Basil. From this time a succession of changes agitated the Empire: Photius rose or fell at each successive change.^a

A hostile council was assembled; among these were ecclesiastics, appearing as representatives of the three Patriarchates now under the Moham- Council of Constantinople. medan sway, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.^x The

^a There is a very curious account in Nicetas of two books said to have been found in the possession of Photius; one, illustrated with caricatures, of the life and acts of Ignatius; one the account of the Council of Constantinople. They were produced and trampled under foot at Rome. One,

it is said, was translated into Latin.

^x The representatives of these sees at the Council of Photius are of course impostors; those at the present real and authentic representatives. This is received as the eighth General Council by the Latin Church.

legates of the Pope, Hadrian, who had already received the ambassadors of the Emperor, condemned Photius, and approved the restoration of Ignatius, were present.

First sitting,
Oct. 5, 869. No one was permitted to take his seat till he had signed a formulary anathematising all heretics, Iconoclasts, and Photius, and also condemnatory of the late council. Those who had communicated with the usurper were received only after having done penance. Some contumacious prelates, who refused to prejudge the cause which they were assembled to consider, were ignominiously expelled from the council.¹ All the ordinations of Photius were declared void. The crimes, the calumnies of Photius, who was dragged before the council by the Emperor's guard, were rehearsed before his face. He stood mute: his degradation was at once determined; and so fierce was the resentment, that, not content with dipping their pens in the ink with which they were to sign his condemnation, they wrote it in the Sacramental wine, as it is plainly said, in the blood of Christ.² The biographer of Ignatius bitterly deplores the lenity of the council; he does not explain what measures he wished them to adopt, but to their mistimed tenderness he ascribes all the evils of the second elevation of Photius. He interprets a terrible earthquake, which threw down many churches, and a furious tempest, as the remonstrances of Heaven against this weak leniency. Other signs on the same authority, glorified the restoration of Ignatius. By a new kind of Transubstantiation, the consecrated bread glowed like a live coal from heaven,

¹ Yet Photius found some defenders; Euthimius, Bishop of Cæsarea, Zacharias of Chalcedon.

² ἀλλὰ τὸ φρικωδέστατον, ὡς καὶ

εἰδόντων ἀκήκοα διαβεβαιουμένων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῷ αἵματι βάπτοντες τὸν κάλαμον.—Nicet. Vit. Ignat., p. 1231.

and the cross over the altar was agitated by a gentle motion.

Photius, in his exile, heard of this appalling earthquake. He rejoiced that he was relieved from beholding the sufferings of his people; he is strongly tempted even to suggest that it is a protest of Heaven against the injustice done to him by the council. That council, in his epistles, he treats as a violent, unjust, lawless synod; a synod of furious bacchanals, avowedly met not to judge, but to ratify his predetermined condemnation. For ten years Ignatius ruled in peace.^a On his death there was a strange reaction in favour A.D. 867-877. of his proscribed, banished, persecuted rival. Photius, it is said, from his monastic retreat administered such skilful flattery to the Emperor, that by Basil's command he was reinstated in the See of Constantinople. So write his enemies. It is more likely that his transcendent learning and accomplishments,^b a strong feeling that his crimes had been exaggerated by his implacable adversaries, some lurking jealousy that Constantinople had too completely subjected herself to Rome, may have led to his second rise. A new Council, A.D. 879. at which were present two Papal legates, ratified the elevation of Photius. The Pope himself, John VIII. (Nicolas and his successor, Hadrian II., had disappeared from the scene), acquiesced in the decision.

The Pope acknowledged the usurper, the monster of wickedness, the persecutor, the heretic, him who had

^a Even Ignatius had maintained against Rome his right to jurisdiction over the Bulgarians. He was in his turn threatened with canonical censures.—Hadrian, *Epist. ad Imperat.*, Labbe.

^b Among the most bitter and pathetic lamentations of Photius in his exile is the being deprived of his books.

dared to assert the co-equality, the supremacy of Constantinople to Rome, as the legitimate Patriarch.*

Photius fell again at the death of his new patron. Leo the Philosopher, the son of Basil, once more ignominiously expelled him from his throne. Yet, though accused of treason, Photius was acquitted, and withdrew into honoured retirement. He did not live to witness or profit by another revolution. Though the schism of

A.D. 886.

thirty years, properly speaking, expired in his person, and again a kind of approximation to Rome took place, yet the links were broken which united the two Churches. The articles of difference, from which neither would depart, had been defined and hardened into rigid dogmas. During the dark times of the Papacy which followed the disruption, even the intercourse became more and more precarious. The Popes of the next century were too busy in defending their territories or their lives to regard the affairs of the East. The darkness which gathered round both Churches shrouded them from each other's sight.

Nicolas the Great had not lived to triumph even in the first fall of Photius. In the West his success was more complete; he had the full enjoyment of conscious power exercised in a righteous cause. Not merely did he behold one of Charlemagne's successors prostrate at his feet, obliged to abandon to papal censure and to degradation even his high ecclesiastical partisans, but in

* Photius is accused of interpolating letters of Pope Leo, certainly much amplified in the Greek translations from the Latin copies, as they now exist, and there are suspicious passages, highly adulatory of Photius, and one suppression (Epist. 97). There are others so much stronger in the Greek, that we cannot attribute them to so adroit a writer as Photius. Baronius supposes this *feminine* weakness of John VIII. to have given rise to the fable of Pope Joan! Was an act of peace and conciliation the monstrous and painful travail which revealed her sex?

succession the greatest prelates of the West, the Archbishop of Ravenna, the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, and even Hincmar, the Archbishop of Rheims, who seemed to rule despotically over the Church and kingdom of France, were forced to bow before his vigorous supremacy.

John, Archbishop of Ravenna, is accused of immoderate ambition and avarice, of determined hostility, John, Archbishop of Ravenna. and a deep, deliberate design of emancipating his see from the domination of Rome. He had taken possession of certain estates claimed by the Roman see, deposed, excommunicated, imprisoned of his own authority all who made resistance, usurped in favour of St. Apollinaris, the tutelar saint of Ravenna, the privileges of St. Peter; treated the citations of the Pope to appear before his tribunal, or before a synod A.D. 861. at Rome, to answer for certain heretical opinions charged against him, with the utmost contempt; though excommunicated by that synod, he persisted in the same disdainful contumacy.^d He aspired, no doubt, to set up the jurisdiction of Ravenna, which he extended beyond its usual limits, as independent, if not superior to Rome. Unless as having been the imperial residence, the seat of empire, it is impossible to understand on what grounds the archbishop rested his haughty pretensions. Ecclesiastical, according to his theory, must have humbly followed the civil supremacy.

But John was a man of harsh and unpopular character. At first, indeed, he was successful in his appeal to the Emperor Louis II. for his interposition. Accompanied by two imperial officers he arrived at Rome. But

^d "Missos illius spernebat, et gloriam beati Petri Apostoli, quantum in se erat, evacuabat."—Anastas. Vit. Nicol. I.

Nicolas mildly rebuked the ambassadors of the Emperor for presuming to enter into such relations with an excommunicated person; they abandoned his defence. The archbishop, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, retired from Rome. But his own city did not espouse his cause.* At the invitation of the principal inhabitants the Pope visited Ravenna; he was received with the warmest welcome by the nobles, and with the acclamations of the people. John fled to Pavia again to implore the succour of the Emperor. As he passed along the streets the doors were closed, and the citizens shrank from the followers of the excommunicated prelate as from infected persons. From the Emperor himself he received this contemptuous message,—“Let him go and humble himself before that great Pope to whom we and the whole Church submit in obedience.” The proud prelate had no alternative but with tears to implore the mercy of his adversary; and Nicolas, having completed his humiliation by enforcing a public oath of allegiance, and of the most full and loyal obedience, on the most sacred reliques, on the cross and sandals of Christ, and on the four Gospels, Nov. 1, 862. condescended to receive him into communion.

The terms of his reconciliation were such as to ensure the complete submission of the See of Ravenna. The archbishop was to present himself, unless prevented by illness or unavoidable necessity, once a year at Rome; to consecrate no bishop but after his election by the Duke, the clergy, and the people, and on the sanction, by letter, of the apostolic see; to allow all his bishops free access for appeal to Rome; to surrender all con-

* Agnelli, Vit. Pontific. Ravenn. apud Muratori. John was accused of tyranny over his suffragan bishops. They were not allowed “*limina Apostolorum adire.*”

tested property to which he could not establish his claim in the courts of law. So ended this opposition to the Papal supremacy in Italy.^f

If power and wealth could have secured independence, the extraordinary rise of the sacerdotal order throughout the Transalpine Carlo-^{Transalpine hierarchy.} vingian Empire, more especially of the great metropolitan prelates in France and on the Rhine, during the decline of that dynasty, might have been formidable to the Roman supremacy, if asserted by a timid or a feeble Pontiff. It was not the Pope alone, but all the clergy, who were a permanent undying corporation, as compared with the temporal nobility. The hierarchy had risen, and were still rising, in proportion to the decay, and partly out of the ruins, of the great temporal feudalities. That military aristocracy was exhausting itself with unexampled rapidity; it disdained to recruit itself from the lower orders; and every family which became extinct weakened the power of the temporal nobles. The civil wars, the wars

^f "Ut nullus amodo et deinceps Archiepiscopus Ravennæ ad vestra Episcopia sine voluntate vestrâ accedere temptet vel aliquam pecuniam a vobis exigere . . . vel res ecclesiæ vestræ, aut monasteria vestra, sive prædia, per quodvis ingenium diripere audeat." The metropolitan power of Ravenna was annulled. The estates of Ravenna in Sicily seem to have been seized and appropriated by Rome.—Agnelli, p. 103. Yet the ambition of the Archbishops of Ravenna was not extinguished by this discomfiture and spoliation. At the famous battle of Fontanet appeared George, Archbishop of Ravenna, with 300 horses

loaded with treasures taken, to the indignation of the clergy, from the churches. George had been consecrated at Rome, but aspired to assert the independence of Ravenna. This wealth was to purchase the Emperor Louis' favour at this critical juncture. But he chose the wrong side. He was taken, robbed of his treasures, stripped of all to a sorry nag, on which he was led before the conqueror, Charles the Bald. By Charles he was bitterly reproached for deserting his flock and appearing in the front of the battle. He was pardoned on the merciful intervention of the Empress Judith, and resumed his see.—Agnelli, p. 185.

against the Normans, not now confined to the coasts, but ravaging the inland provinces (they had sacked Paris, Ghent, Hamburg, Cologne); the libertinism of manners, which crowded the halls of the nobles with spurious descendants, often without perpetuating the legitimate descent; devotion, which threw many who might have kept up the noblest families into the Church or the cloister; the alienation of their estates, through piety or superstition, to sacred uses;—all these causes conspired to drain away the riches and the power of the nobility.

But the perpetual Church was always ready to acquire, and forbidden to alienate, and was
Its perpetuity. protected, even in these wild times, at least in comparative security, by awful maledictions against believers, by miracles which seemed constantly at their command, against heathens as well as Christians. Its immortal order rested on no precarious or hereditary descent. The cathedral or the monastery might be burned, as was sometimes the case in the Norman inroads, the clergy and the monks massacred. A new generation arose immediately among the ruins, resumed their wasted estates, and repaired their shattered buildings. The metropolitan or the bishop had always an heir at hand: the transmission of his sacred property, though sometimes diverted from its proper use by hierarchical prodigality or by episcopal nepotism, descended on the whole in the right line. All these losses were more than recompensed by unchecked and unscrupulous acquisitions. The Church at times was plundered: all possessions were precarious during the long anarchy which followed the death of Louis the Pious; the persons of the priesthood were not secure. But still it renewed its strength, recovered its dilapi-

dated resources; found some latent power which brought it back to its commanding superiority. It ever retrieved its losses, revenged itself for its humiliations, and still grew on under every, it might seem, fatal change in the political atmosphere.

France and part of Germany, but especially France, had become a kind of feudal theocracy. Ecclesiastical councils almost superseded the Diets of the nation.^g Bishops and abbots, themselves nobly born, outnumbered the temporal nobles. The descendants of Charlemagne were surrounded by a tonsured, not an armed aristocracy; the greater part of the royal army was levied by the prelates of the Church. Even the royal family, ambitious of real power, were constantly intruding themselves into the more wealthy bishoprics or abbacies.

The superiority of the clergy even over the Crown was openly and distinctly asserted. Kings were not exempt from that general obedience Power. enjoined by the Apostle.^h The clergy ruled the laity through their vices, but chiefly vices of one kind. They were the appointed, the heaven-delegated guardians of connubial morals; to them belonged all matri-

^g Nithard says, on occasion of the alliance of Charles and Louis against Lothair, "*Primum quidem visum est, ut rem ad Episcopos sacerdotesque quorum aderat pars maxima, conferret, ut illorum consultu, veluti numine divino, harum rerum exordium atque auctoritas proderetur.*"—l. iv. c. i. These were purely secular matters, and this is the usual language. Compare c. iv.

^h Hincmar (De Divortio III. et c. i. c. i.), who not only asserted that

exercised also this power, quotes, as a sentence of Pope Gelasius, that the pontifical is higher than the royal power, because the clergy have to render an account even of kings to God. He cites the restoration of Louis the Pious as an act of episcopal authority. "*Nostrâ ætate Hludovicum Augustum a regno dejectum, post satisfactionem, episcopalis unanimas, sanctorum concilio, cum populi consensu, et ecclesiæ et regno restituit.*"—p. 473.

monial causes; no one, not the highest in the realm, was exempt from their interference. And if their judgements had always been superior to unworthy influences, and if, in these lawless times, they had equally opposed, as some no doubt did, oppression, inhumanity, injustice, their rule might have mitigated far more the ferocious manners, and assisted in blending together the hostile orders and races. But instead of Christianising the world, themselves had become secularised. They were stern barons or haughty dukes, rather than peaceful prelates and humble teachers of the gospel. It might, indeed, seem that, at this time, the only important public affairs were the domestic relations of the Sovereign. That licence which Charlemagne indulged without check or remonstrance, was denied to his feeblcr descendants. Council after council met on questions of adultery, divorce, and incest. Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, had married successively Ethelwolf, King of England; Ethelbald, her step-son (a connexion which shocked all feeling); and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who had carried her off and married her with her own consent.¹ Here prudence somewhat checked the moral zeal of the Church. The Pope intercedes in favour of Baldwin, lest he should revolt to the Pagan Normans. Another council, that of Toul, was called to annul the marriage of Stephen, Count of Auvergne, with the daughter of Raimond, Count of Toulouse, because a relation of his wife's had been his mistress. The Pope himself took cognisance, in a council at Rome, of the divorce of Ingeltruda from her husband, Count Bosq, by whom she had been abandoned.

Matrimonial
causes.

¹ Nicol. Pap. Epist. Carolo Calvo. 862, Nov. 23.

The matrimonial cause, however, which for many years distracted part of France, on which council after council met, and on which the great prelates of Lorraine came into direct collision with the Pope, and were reduced to complete and unpitied humiliation under his authority, was that of King Lothair and his Queen Theutberga.

This nobility, at once of race and order, which was the strength of the Carlovingian hierarchy, of nobility by birth, and of power by eccle-^{King Lothair and Theutberga.} siastical dignity, was that which was most likely to grow up into natural independence, to resist all foreign supremacy, and, unless met with an intrepid and firm assertion of delegated divine authority, to shake off all subordination. In the struggle with Pope Nicolas the Frank clergy espoused a bad cause, one in which the moral, as well as religious sympathies of mankind were against them. When, in the character of guardians of public and private virtue, they countenanced gross immorality, the abrogation of their unjust decrees by the Pope carried with it the general sentiment. The whole affair is a monstrous tissue of indecency, cruelty, and injustice. To know the times must be known this trial, which so long occupied the clergy of the West.

Lothair II., King of Lorraine, the second son of the Emperor Lothair, had married Theutberga, the daughter of Boso, the powerful Count of Burgundy. Soon after his marriage he had dismissed her, from disinclination or a former attachment, from his court. The popular feeling had compelled him to restore her to her conjugal honours; but he would not bear the yoke. Publicly before the officers and great vassals of his court, he accused her of incest with her brother,

A.D. 860.

Hubert, Abbot of St. Maurice.^k This revolting charge was made more loathsome by minute circumstances, contradictory and impossible.^m Yet on this charge the obsequious nobility, with the consent of the clergy, put the unhappy queen upon her trial. She demanded the ordeal of hot water;ⁿ her champion passed through unhurt; and who should presume now to doubt her innocence? She was restored at least to her rank and to outward respect, but treated with such petty and harassing cruelty, that at length the weary woman made a public confession of her impossible crime. A synod of the clergy was convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle; it was attended by the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves; the Bishops of Metz, Tongres, Verdun, Melun, and

Autun. Their first decree not only released,

^{Divorce.} but interdicted Lothair from all connexion with his adulterous wife; the second enforced a public penance on the unhappy Theutberga.

But separation alone was not the object of Lothair. He had lived in open concubinage with Waldrada, it has been said, without sufficient proof, the sister of Gunther, Archbishop of Cologne, and niece of Theot-

^k Compare throughout, if thought fit, the treatise of Hincmar, *De Divortio Hlotharii et Theutbergæ*. The questions submitted to the archbishop are only surpassed in their offensiveness by their absurdity. Hincmar discusses them with minute obscenity, protesting that he and his fellow bishops are entirely ignorant of such matters, and only acquired their knowledge by reading.

^m Not from the high character of the abbot, whose discipline at St. Maurice was of the loosest; he lived himself with dancing girls. His

brother-in-law made him a duke.—*Epist. Benedict III.*, 857. He seems to have lived as a layman.

ⁿ In Hincmar there is a curious discussion on the ordeal. The archbishop draws a strange mystical analogy with the Deluge, in which the wicked were destroyed by water, the just saved: the fire in which Sodom was destroyed, Lot escaped. The ordeal was held to be a kind of baptism. The wiser Archbishop Agobard of Lyons wrote against the ordeal, as against some other superstitions of his time.

gand, Archbishop of Treves.^o A third council assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle. At this council, too, appeared the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, A.D. 862. Adventius of Metz, Franko of Tongres, Atto of Verdun, Arnulf of Toul, the Bishops of Utrecht and Strasburg. The king pleaded pre-engagement to Waldrada, and declared that he only married the daughter of Boso because her father's alliance was absolutely necessary in the perilous state of the kingdom. The canon laws against incest were read, the confession of Theutberga recited,^p the marriage declared void, and Waldrada proclaimed the lawful queen. She appeared in public in all the array and splendour of the king's wife.^q

It was at this juncture that the Pope interposed to protect the injured and blameless wife of Lo- Pope Nicolas
interferes. thair. Theutberga herself, worn out with per-secution, had renewed her confession, and only entreated permission to retire into a convent to bewail her sins.

* Sismondi quotes as authority for this relationship the *Annales Metenses*, "according to which," he says, "Gunther and Theotgand were excommunicated and deposed on account of their relationship to Waldrada, and the assistance they gave her." In the *Ann. Met.* Gunther is bribed to the king's party by a promise to marry his niece (*neptis*), and this niece cannot be Waldrada.—"Guntharii Episcopi neptis ad regem accersitur, *ac semel*, ut aiunt, ab eo stupratur, atque cum cacinno omnium et omnium derisione ad avunculum remittitur." This insult, moreover, to Gunther is utterly irreconcilable with his faithful adhesion to the cause of Lothair and Waldrada, and makes the affair more

inexplicable.—*Ann. Met.* apud Bouquet, p. 191. The *Annales Bertiniani* say that the king was bound to Waldrada by witchcraft, as it was said "*faventibus illi avunculo suo Liutprando et Vultaria, qui ob hoc maximè illi erant familiares.*" Liutprand here seems to have been her uncle.—Apud Bouquet, p. 79.

^p A new contradiction was now inserted into the confession of Theutberga, that she was not "*idonea conjux.*"

^q According to one letter of Pope Nicolas, she was actually married "*publico festoque nuptiarum ritu celebrato, Waldradam sibi jure matrimonii sociavit.*"—*Nicol. Pap. Epist.* Bouquet, p. 434.

The first negotiations of the Pope were strangely baffled. His legates, one of them the same Radoaldus, Bishop of Porto, who had shown so much weakness or venality at Constantinople, was bribed by Lothair and the Lotharingian bishops. A third council at Metz, at which the

Nov. A.D. 862. Pope's legates were present, ratified all the decrees of the former synods. The legates, if

they did not assent, made no opposition. With this decree the two Archbishops, Gunther and Theotgand, were so imprudent as to proceed in person as the king's

Archbishops of Cologne and Treves into the net; the net closed around them. at Rome. Oct. 863.

Nicolas summoned a synod, and from that synod issued a lofty edict, addressed to Hincmar of Rheims and Wanilo of Rouen. The Pope condemned, in the strongest terms, the guilt of King Lothair—if king he might be called—and Gunther and Theotgand, as the abettors and accomplices in his guilt. He annulled the acts of the synod of Metz, which was hereafter to be called no synod, but a brothel of adulterers. He excommunicated and deposed Gunther and Theotgand, and all the bishops their partisans.

The pride of the high-born prelate, Gunther, broke out into fury at this unexpected affront. He hastened to the camp of the Emperor, Louis the Elder, brother of King Lothair, to whom, on the severance of the empire of Lothair I., had fallen the kingdom of Italy, with the Imperial title. The Emperor at once espoused the cause of the German prelate, shared in his resentment, and marched with his army upon Rome.

The Pope attempted no resistance; he summoned his clergy around him; ordered a rigid fast and perpetual litanies to God, to avert the wrath of the Emperor. The lawless soldiery entered Rome; the Emperor's

guards occupied the approaches to St. Peter's; and as the clergy and people came in solemn procession, with their crosses borne before them, and chanting their sad litanies, the crosses and banners were thrown down, trampled on, and broken; the clergy, maltreated, beaten, hardly escaped with their lives. Even the great crucifix, the offering, it was believed, of the Empress Helena, which contained a portion of the true cross, was broken to pieces, and dashed into the mire. Some pious Englishmen collected the fragments with reverential care. The Pope heard that measures were in agitation to seize his person. He hastily crossed the Tiber in a boat, found his way into the church of St. Peter, and passed two days and nights without food. Heaven, in the mean time, appeared to declare in favour of the defenceless Pontiff. The man who had broken the great cross suddenly fell dead. The Emperor was seized with a fever. In the agony of his terror he sent the Empress to implore the mercy of the Pope. A female ambassador, under such circumstances, was not likely to be difficult as to the terms of reconciliation. Louis at once abandoned the cause of the bishops. Deserted by all, they retired in disgrace to France. There they still supposed themselves secure in their own power, and in the support of King Lothair. Before they left Rome they published an appeal to all Christian bishops. They complained, in the language of defiance, of the insolent injustice of the Pope. He had decoyed them to Rome; he had closed the gates on them as on robbers, ignominiously arrested them,*

* They describe their arrest: "Ibique obseratis ostiis, conspiratione more latrociniali facta, et ex clericis et laicis turba collecta et permixta, nos oppri- mere inter tantos violenter struisti . . . tuo solius arbitrio ex tyrannico furore damnare nosmet voluisti."

condemned them without synod or canonical examination, without accuser, without witness, without discussion, without proof, without their own confession, in the absence of other metropolitan or suffragan bishops, with no common consent, of his own will, in his tyrannical madness. "This Lord Nicolas, who calls himself Pope, accounts himself as one of the Apostles, and makes himself Emperor, has presumed, at the instigation of our enemies, to condemn us. He will find that we are determined to resist his insanity, and make him repent of his precipitancy." They cast back his anathema in disdain, and in their turn excommunicate the Pope,^a and declare that, by his arrogant self-exaltation over the whole Church, he has sequestered himself from its communion.^b They added further, that they asserted only the rights of their own order. Nicolas refused to receive this protest, upon which one of the archbishop's officers and some of his men forced their way into the church of St. Peter, beat down the guards, one of whom was killed, and laid the daring document upon the tomb believed to contain the body of St. Peter.

The archbishops retreated to their dioceses. Notwithstanding the Papal interdict, Gunther celebrated divine service in his cathedral at Cologne; the more timid Theotgand abstained from his ecclesiastical functions.

But Lothair was as dastardly as lustful. Other bishops got round him, and urged on his weak mind all the terrors of the Papal power.^c He did not scruple to

^a See this remarkable document in the *Annales Bertiniani*, A.D. 863.

^b "Contenti totius ecclesiæ communione et paternâ societate, quam tu arroganter te superexaltans despicias,

teque ab eâ elationis tumore indignum faciens sequestras."

^c This is the language of Nicolas to King Lothair: "Ita corporis tui cederet motibus consensisti, et relaxatus

sacrifice those prelates who, in compliance with his will, had hesitated at no injustice, and had dared to confront and to defy, to commit a kind of capital treason against the sacerdotal power. He deposed Gunther, and appointed his own son,* a youth only. Gunther was deserted on all sides; the simple and blameless Archbishop of Treves⁷ had bowed before the storm; the other bishops of the condemned synod of Metz hastened to make their peace with Rome; they gladly accepted the indulgence of the holy father. The Archbishop of Cologne was forbidden to approach the royal presence, avoided as a person excommunicate. He seized the treasure of his Church, and, armed with this, in all ages a powerful weapon, he hastened to Rome to unfold the iniquities of the king's proceedings against his wife.⁸ But Lothair had anticipated his revenge. He sent a bishop with the humblest protestations of repentance and submission to the Apostolic See. The Abbot Hubert, in the mean time, had been killed by his own retainers. Theutberga, who had lived under the guardianship of her brother, took refuge in the dominions of Charles the Bald. The alarm of Lothair increased; he suspected his uncles, Charles and Louis, of a design to seize and share his kingdom, the Pope of connivance, if not of more than connivance, in their hostile plans.

Nicolas was not content with his triumph over the

voluptatum habenis temet ipsum in lacum miseræ et in lutum fæcis pro libitu dejecisti, ut qui positus fueras ad gubernationem populorum, effectus sis ruina multorum."—Ad Lothair. Reg., Oct. 863.

* Hugo never obtained actual possession. Some time after the see was

intrusted to the care of Hilduin, brother of Gunther, who dispensed the revenues, though the see was held to be vacant.—Ann. Bertin., p. 92.

⁷ "Simplicissimus ac innocentissimus vir."—Annal. Bertin.

⁸ "Falsa de more suo."—Ann. Bertin., p. 86.

Lothair
abandons
them.

feeble Lothair, and the daring but indiscreet bishops who had espoused his cause. He aspired to dictate to the other more powerful Carolingian kings, to Charles and to Louis: and even Hincmar, the Arch-
Hincmar of Rheims.
bishop of Rheims, the most learned, politic, and powerful ecclesiastic in France,^a must bow before his authority. He sent his legate, Arsenius, into France with letters to the sovereigns so haughty and imperious as to shock even the submissive spirit of those times.^b He rebukes them with the tone of a master, or rather openly declares that he speaks with the authority of God, from actual divine inspiration, when he reproaches them for presuming to prohibit the bishops of their realms from obeying the papal summons to a synod at Rome.^c He will not admit the excuse of Charles the Bald that the greater part of the bishops were watching day and night against the descents of the Norman pirates. He reproves this secular occupation of the bishops. If towards these kings he preserves some show of respect, of Lothair he speaks with unmitigated contempt. His uncles had urged Lothair to go on a suppliant pilgrimage to Rome; Lothair had expressed his earnest desire to do so. The Pope sternly interdicts his journey, declaring that the holy Roman Church

^a Sismondi states boldly that Hincmar was the sole ruler of France.

^b "Nicolaus Papa Arsenium . . . cum epistolis ad Hludovicum et Carolum fratres . . . non cum Apostolicâ mansuetudine, et solitâ honorabilitate sicut Episcopi Romani consueverant Reges in suis epistolis honorare, sed cum malitiosâ interminatione."—Pagi (sub ann. 865) rebukes the author of the *Ann. Bertin.*, even Hincmar himself, perhaps the author, whose senti-

ments at all events the book expresses, for this misrepresentation. He appeals to the more courteous letter to Charles. But the epistle to the two brothers fully bears out the charge. April 22, 865.

^c "Unde si vos fortasse aliter dicitis, nos illud dicimus, quod divinitus revelatur." He thus claims divine authority for Roman synods: "Nos consensu illorum, revelante Domino, quæ decernenda sunt decerneremus."

would not receive, but despise and reject, such men.^d He commands the king, without subterfuge or evasion, to receive back his wife; even if Theutberga should prefer the state of separation, she is to be compelled to return to her husband's bed. "But if Lothair, whom, to prevent war and bloodshed, we have still treated with some leniency, shall lift up his horn, and disobey your admonitions and ours, the affair must take its course."

The letter of the Pope to the bishops advances still higher pretensions; the object, indeed, is noble and Christian. He commands them to maintain that peace which had been sworn by the three royal brethren, to prevent the shedding of Christian blood. But he asserts the coronation of the Emperor to be a grant of the Imperial power by the Roman See. The sword was given to the Emperor by the Vicar of St. Peter, yet to be employed against infidels, not against his fellow Christians. The empire descended to Louis by hereditary right, but was confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See.*

The Legate "from the side" of the Pope began now to appear as a Dictator to the Northern kings. Arsenius was not the first who bore this title; Papal legates. but he asserted its pride and power with yet almost unprecedented vigour. The legate first appeared at Frankfort, and delivered his message to the Emperor Louis; thence he passed to the court of Lothair.^f He threatened the king with immediate excommunica-

^d "Cui interdiximus, et omnino interdiximus, ut iter talis qualis nunc est non arripiat, eo quod sancta Ecclesia Romana tales respuat et contemnat."

* "Macherae usum, quam primum a Petri principis Apostolorum vicario, contra infideles accepit, non cogatur

in Christi fideles convertere. . . . Regna sibi per hæreditarium jus devoluta, et sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate firmata."—Epist. ad Episcop. Gall. apud Bouquet, p. 404.

^f "Apud Gandulfi villam."—Anna Bertin.

tion if he did not dismiss the concubine Waldrada, and receive his repudiated queen. He then betook himself to Attigny, the residence of Charles the Bald. He peremptorily commanded the restoration of the Bishop Rothrad, who had been canonically, as it was asserted, deposed by Hincmar his metropolitan, and was now irregularly, without inquiry or examination, replaced by the arbitrary mandate of the Pope.⁸ Hincmar murmured and obeyed; the king acquiesced in the papal decree, trembling at the menaced anathema.

From Attigny, Arsenius conducted Theutberga to the court of her husband. A solemn oath was dictated by the legate, and sworn on the Gospels by six counts and six vassals, in the name of Lothair, that he would receive Theutberga as his lawful wife, and restore her fully to her conjugal rights. Four archbishops and four bishops, besides the legate, were present at the ceremony. She was then publicly delivered to her husband, under the most awful denunciations of excommunication and condemnation to everlasting fire,^h if he did not fulfil the solemn compact. Lothair and Theutberga were then crowned King and Queen of Lorraine.

Arsenius found the papal fulminations weapons too useful and effective to be confined to royal offenders. A terrible excommunication of unusual violence was

⁸ The Annales Bertin. are supposed to express the sentiments of Hincmar. "Et Rothradum canonice a quinque provinciarum episcopis dejectum, et a Nicolao papâ non regulariter, sed potentialiter restitutum."—P. 89.

^h "Si in omnibus, ut superius legitur, non observaverit atque imple-

verit, non solum in præsente vitâ sed etiam in æterno Dei terribili judicio, eum B. Petro principi Apostolorum redditurum rationem et ab ipso æternaliter in eodem judicio damnandum, et igni perpetuo concremandum."—Ann. Bertin. p. 90.

launched against certain plunderers who, some years before, had robbed him of a large sum of money, unless they made immediate restitution.¹ Another was issued against Ingeltruda, the wife of Count Boso, who had left her husband, and was leading a wandering and disreputable life.

Waldrada had been delivered up to Arsenius to be conducted to Rome, that she might undergo the proper penance; but Arsenius was persuaded by some powerful influence, not impossibly by bribery (for he was a man of notorious rapacity), to allow her, after she had reached Parma, to return to France.^k Two years afterwards the two excommunicated archbishops, beguiled with false hopes of restoration, were persuaded to go to Rome; though on a former journey they had been sternly repelled by the Pope. The aged Archbishop of Treves died there; Gunther of Cologne hardly escaped with his life. Nicolas persisted to the end in his resistance to the intercession of the Emperor Louis, and of many German bishops. He treated these men as open favourers of adultery; as the authors and contrivers of all this foul and revolting iniquity.^m The inexorable Pope saw one die, the other on the brink of the grave, without relaxing his unforgiving severity.

Rumours soon reached the vigilant Pontiff that the reconciliation of Lothair with his wife was but false and seeming. He was suspected of continuing secret intercourse with Waldrada; although Adventius, the

¹ The Ann. Bertin. mention this: "Epistolam Nicolai Papæ plenam terribilibus et a modestâ sedis Apostolicæ hactenus inauditis maledictionibus,"

person, for her contumacy in refusing to go to Rome, and her suspicious intrigues against the queen.—Epist. xxviii., Bouquet, 419.

^k Nicolas wrote to the bishops to treat Waldrada as an excommunicated

^m Compare his later letters, where he speaks of the "fœtida gesta." His usual name for Waldrada is *martha*.

Bishop of Metz, protested that all the king's conversation with Waldrada (Waldrada, now under public sentence of excommunication)ⁿ was pure,^o and that he treated his wife with the utmost respect, that he appeared with her in church, and was reported to admit her to his bed.^p But this was soon belied by an earnest supplication to the Pope from the unhappy queen to be released from her miserable marriage. She asserted the previous wedlock of Lothair with Waldrada, her own unfitness, from some secret malady, for the conjugal state. She entreated to be permitted to come to Rome, that she might communicate with the Pope. Nicolas replied in a tone of stern commiseration. He refused to receive a confession extorted manifestly by force. Even were she to die, the Church would never permit Lothair to marry the adulteress Waldrada. The guilty king, by the example of his adultery, had plunged thousands into the chaos of perdition; what wonder if he should force others to commit perjury? He positively forbade her journey to Rome, and exhorted her to endure glorious martyrdom in the cause of righteousness. The wretched Theutberga was, in the

mean time, exposed to every insult and con-

tumely. Lothair had at one time accused her of adultery, and proposed that she should vindicate her honour by wager of battle. Nicolas prohibited this appeal to arms; and in a letter to Lothair himself, contempt,

ⁿ Waldrada was excommunicated Feb. 2, 866.

^o Thus writes Adventius: "Et nos veriore experientiâ investigare volumus, in nullo prorsus colloquio per tactum, vel visum illâ (Waldradâ) fieri voluit."

^p "Theutbergam Reginam noster

Senior ad præsens ita tractare cernitur, sicut rex conjunctam sibi debet tractare reginam, videlicet ad divinum officium pariter honorificè comitantem, et in mensâ regiâ simul convivantem, atque, ut relatio innuit, conjugalibus habitibus debitum solvere hilariter prætendit."

—Apud Beauquet, p. 595.

most profound and well-deserved, mingles with his indignant expostulations. Lothair was at length driven, by the steadfast severity of the Pope, from every subterfuge. He was preparing to send his wife to Rome, to appear himself before the judgement-seat, and even to yield up his beloved Waldrada to the penitential discipline of the Church. Before his descent into Italy he endeavoured, by the intercession of his uncle, Louis the Germanic, to obtain for his son by Waldrada the promise of Alsace. For this end he still lingered in France; but Nicolas did not live to enjoy his perfect triumph; he died in November, A.D. 867—a Pontiff who, if he advanced no absolutely unexampled pretensions to supremacy in behalf of the Roman See, yet by the favourable juncture and auspicious circumstances which he seized to assert and maintain that authority, did more than all his predecessors to strengthen and confirm it. During all his conflicts in the West with the royal and with the episcopal power, the moral and religious sympathies of mankind could not but be on his side. If his language was occasionally more violent, even contemptuous, than became the moderation which, up to this time, had mitigated the papal decrees, he might plead lofty and righteous indignation: if he interfered with domestic relations, it was in defence of the innocent and defenceless, and in vindication of the sanctity of marriage: if he treated kings with scorn, it was because they had become contemptible for their weakness or their vices: if he interfered with episcopal or metropolitan jurisdiction, the inferior clergy, even bishops, would be pleased to have a remote and possibly disinterested tribunal, to which they might appeal from prelates, chosen only from aristocratic connexions, barbarians in occupation

Jan. 867.

Death of
Nicolas I.
Nov. A.D. 867.His cha-
racter.

and in ferocity:¹ if he was inexorable to transgressors, it was to those of the highest order, prelates who had lent themselves to injustice and iniquity, and had defied his power: if he annulled councils, those councils had already been condemned for their injustice, had deserved the reproachful appellation with which they were branded by the Pope, from all who had any innate or unperverted sentiment of justice and purity. Hence the presumptuous usurpation even of divine power, so long as it was thus beneficently used, awed, confounded all, and offended few. Men took no alarm at the arrogance which befriended them against the oppressor and the tyrant.

The impression left by Nicolas I. on his times may be estimated by the words of a later writer. "Since the days of Gregory I. to our time sat no high-priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to Nicolas. He tamed kings and tyrants, and ruled the world like a sovereign; to holy bishops and clergy he was mild and gentle; to the wicked and unconverted a terror; so that we might truly say a new Elias arose in him."²

But this vast moral advancement of the popedom was not all which the Roman See owes to Nicolas I.; she owes the questionable boon of the recognition of the False Decretals as the law of the Church.

Nicolas I. not only saw during his pontificate the famous False Decretals take their place in the jurisprudence of Latin Christendom; if he did not promulgate, he assumed them as authentic documents; he gave them the weight of the papal sanction; and with their aid prostrated at his feet the one great Transalpine

¹ Giraud, *Droit Romain en France pendant le Moyen Age*, vol. i.

² *Regin. Chron.* ad ann. 698. Pertz, i. 579.

prelate who could still maintain the independence of the Teutonic Church, Hincmar Archbishop of Rheims.

Up to this period the Decretals, the letters or edicts of the Bishops of Rome, according to the authorised or common collection of Dionysius, commenced with Pope Siricius, towards the close of the fourth century. To the collection of Dionysius was added that of the authentic councils, which bore the name of Isidore of Seville. On a sudden was promulgated, unannounced, without preparation, not absolutely unquestioned, but apparently overawing at once all doubt, a new Code, which to the former authentic documents added fifty-nine letters and decrees of the twenty oldest popes from Clement to Melchiades, and the donation of Constantine; and in the third part, among the decrees of the Popes and of the councils from Sylvester to Gregory II., thirty-nine false decrees, and the acts of several unauthentic councils.* In this vast manual of sacer-

* Nicolas of Cusa, and Turrecremata, before the Reformation, had doubted, as far as they dared to doubt. The Magdeburg centuriators, after them Blondel, exposed the fraud with unanswerable arguments. The Jesuit La Torre attempted a feeble defence: he was scourged into obscurity by Blondel. Since that time there has been hardly a murmur of defence. There is an excellent brief (Roman Catholic) summary of the whole question in Walter (*Kirchen Recht*, pp. 155 et seqq.). Mohler (*Schriften*) softens the fiction into poetry; he is too ingenious to be convincing; and wishes to convince, rather than succeeds, as it appears to me, in convincing himself. I know only from other writers what seems the masterly investigation of Knust. Gfrörer, in

his History of the Church and in a dissertation (Freiburg, 1848), displays more than his usual industry and sagacity, but I think is somewhat too narrow and partial (compare Walter, *Kirchen Recht*, 158) in his hypothesis, that the sole, if not the sole, the almost exclusive design of the Decretals was to lower the power of the metropolitans. Indeed, in his later and valuable work, *Die Karolinger* (Freiburg, 1848), he seems to me to have taken a wider range, to have summed up the whole question with more perfect mastery. Gfrörer's general failing, in my judgement, is drawing wide and peremptory conclusions from scanty and doubtful evidence: he is too much enamoured of his own very great ingenuity.

total Christianity the Popes appear from the first the parents, guardians, legislators of the faith throughout the world. The False Decretals do not merely assert the supremacy of the Popes—the dignity and privileges of the Bishop of Rome—they comprehend the whole dogmatic system and discipline of the Church, the whole hierarchy from the highest to the lowest degree, their sanctity and immunities, their persecutions, their disputes, their right of appeal to Rome. They are full and minute on Church property, on its usurpation and spoliation; on ordinations; on the sacraments, on baptism, confirmation, marriage, the Eucharist; on fasts and festivals; the discovery of the cross, the discovery of the reliques of the Apostles; on the chrism, holy water, consecration of churches, blessing of the fruits of the field; on the sacred vessels and habiliments. Personal incidents are not wanting to give life and reality to the fiction. The whole is composed with an air of profound piety and reverence; a specious purity, and occasionally beauty, in the moral and religious tone. There are many axioms of seemingly sincere and vital religion. But for the too manifest design, the aggrandisement of the See of Rome and the aggrandisement of the whole clergy in subordination to the See of Rome; but for the monstrous ignorance of history, which betrays itself in glaring anachronisms, and in the utter confusion of the order of events and the lives of distinguished men—the former awakening keen and jealous suspicion, the latter making the detection of the spuriousness of the whole easy, clear, irrefragable;—the False Decretals might still have maintained their place in ecclesiastical history. They are now given up by all; not a voice is raised in their favour; the utmost that is done by those who cannot

suppress all regret at their explosion, is to palliate the guilt of the forger, to call in question or to weaken the influence which they had in their own day, and throughout the later history of Christianity.

The author or authors of this most audacious and elaborate of pious frauds are unknown; the date and place of its compilation are driven ^{Authorship.} into such narrow limits that they may be determined within a few years, and within a very circumscribed region. The False Decretals came not from Rome; the time of their arrival at Rome, after they were known beyond the Alps, appears almost certain. In one year Nicolas I. is apparently ignorant of their existence, the next he speaks of them with full knowledge. They contain words manifestly used at the Council of Paris, A.D. 829, consequently are of later date; they were known to the Levite Benedict of Mentz," who composed a supplement to the collection of capitularies by Ansegise, between A.D. 840-847. The city of Mentz is designated with nearly equal certainty as the place in which, if not actually composed, they were first promulgated as the canon law of Christendom.

The state of affairs in the divided and distracted empire might seem almost to call for, almost to justify, this desperate effort to strengthen the ecclesiastical power. All the lower clergy, including some of the bishops, were groaning, just at this time, under heavy oppression. By the constitution of Charlemagne, which survived under Louis the pious, and, so long as the empire maintained its unity, asserted the independence of the Transalpine hierarchy of all but the temporal

* Eichhorn almost alone, maintains their Roman origin.—Compare also Luden. Geschichte, v. p. 468, *et seqq.*

"Walter appears to think Benedict the author of the work.

sovereign, the clergy were under strict subordination to the bishop, the bishop to the metropolitan, the metropolitan only to the Emperor. Conflicting Popes, or Popes in conflict with Italian enemies, or with their own subjects, had reduced the papacy to vassalage under the empire. Conflicting kings, on the division of the realm of Charlemagne, had not yet, but were soon about to submit the empire to the Roman supremacy. All at present was anarchy. The Germans and the French were drawing asunder into separate rival nations; the sons of Louis were waging an endless, implacable strife. Almost every year, less than every decade of years, beheld a new partition of the empire; kingdoms rose and fell, took new boundaries, acknowledged new sovereigns; no government was strong enough to maintain the law; might was the only law.^x

The hierarchy, if not the whole clergy, had taken the lead in the disruption of the unity of the empire; they had abased the throne of Louis; they were for a short disastrous period now the victims of that abasement. Their wealth was their danger. They had become secular princes, they had become nobles, they had become vast landed proprietors. But during the civil wars it was not the persuasive voice, but the strong arm, which had authority; the mitre must bow before the helmet, the crosier before the sword. Not only the domains, the persons of the clergy had lost their sanctity. The persecution and oppression of the Church and the clergy had reached a height unknown in former times. Thus writes Bishop Agobard of Lyons:—"No condition of men, whether free or unfree, is so insecure in the possession of his

^x This is in no way inconsistent | was a temporary depression, remedied,
with the immense and steady advance | as will soon appear, from other sources
of the clergy in power and wealth; it | of vigour and energy.

property as the priest; no one can foresee how many days he may be master of his church, of his house. Not only the estates of the Church, the churches themselves are sold." The Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 836) protested against the contempt into which the clergy had fallen with the ungodly laity. They wrote in bitter remonstrance to King Pepin, the son of Louis,—"There are people who boldly say, 'Where hath God ordained that the goods of which the priests claim possession are consecrated to him? The whole earth is the Lord's; has he not created it for the good of all mankind?'"^y The metropolitans alone (we have seen those of the Rhine haughty to all beneath them, basely subservient to the wickedness of their kings) stood above the tumult, themselves if not tyrants or instruments of royal tyranny, either trampling on the inferior clergy, or, at least, not protecting them from being trampled on or plundered by others.

It might occur to the most religious, that for the sake of religion; it might occur to those to whom the dignity and interest of the sacerdotal order were their religion, that some effort must be made to reinvest the clergy in their imperilled sanctity. There must be some appeal against this secular, this ecclesiastical tyranny: and whither should appeal be? It could not be to the Scriptures, to the Gospel. It must be to ancient and venerable tradition, to the unrepealed, irrepealable law of the Church; to remote and awful Rome. Rome must be proclaimed in an unusual, more emphatic manner, the eternal, immemorial court of appeal. The tradition must not rest on the comparatively recent names of Leo the Great, of Innocent the Great, of Siricius, or the

^y Mansi sub ann. 836.

right of appeal depend on the decree of the Council of Sardica. It must come down from the successors of St. Peter himself in unbroken succession. The whole clergy must have a perpetual, indefeasible sanctity of the same antiquity.

So may the idea of this, to us it seems, monstrous fiction have dawned upon its author; himself may have implicitly believed that he asserted no prerogative for Rome which Rome herself had not claimed, which he did not think to be her right. It is even now asserted, perhaps can hardly be disproved, that the False Decretals advanced no pretensions in favour of the See of Rome which had not been heard before in some vague and indefinite, but not therefore less significant, language. The boldness of the act was in the new authority in which it arrayed these pretensions. The author may have thought that in renewing the power, while he by no means lost sight of the holiness of the clergy, he was embarked in a hallowed cause. In some respects he shows skill at least as consummate as might be expected in that age. There was no great fear of detection in a fiction so advantageous to those who could alone expose it, the clergy, in an age which, for instance, received the life of St. Denys, written by the Abbot Hilduin of that monastery, and the ecclesiastical counsellor of the emperor, as identified with Dionysius the Areopagite; a legend almost of unparalleled extravagance, but which became at once accredited hagiology. The new code was enshrined, as it were, in a framework of deeply religious thought and language; it was introduced under the venerated name of Isidore of Seville (it was rumoured to have been brought from Spain by Riculf, Archbishop of Mentz); it was thus attached to the authentic work of Isidore, which had long enjoyed un-

disputed authority. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, as the most powerful, so, perhaps, the most learned Transalpine ecclesiastic, who might at once have exposed the fiction, which he could hardly but know to be a fiction, cooperated more than any one else to establish its authority. So long as he supposed it to advance or confirm his own power, he suppressed all intrusive doubts; he discovered too late that it was a trap (a mousetrap is his own undignified word) to catch unwary metropolitans.^a Hincmar was caught, beyond all hope of escape. In the appeal of Rothrad, Bishop of Soissons, against Hincmar, metropolitan of Rheims, Pope Nicolas I. at first alleges no word of the new Decretals in favour of his right of appeal; he seemingly knows no older authority than that of Innocent, Leo, Siricius, and the Council of Sardica.^a The next year not merely is he fully master of the pseudo-Isidorian documents, but he taunts Hincmar with now calling in question, when it makes against him, authority which he was ready to acknowledge in confirmation of his own power. Hincmar is forced to the humiliation of submission. Rothrad, deposed by Hincmar, deposed by the Council of Senlis, is reinstated in his see.^b

This immediate, if somewhat cautious, adoption of the fiction, unquestionably not the forgery by Pope Nicolas, appears to me less capable of Adoption
at Rome. charitable palliation than the original invention. It was, in truth, a strong temptation. But in Rome,

^a "Circumposita omnibus metropolitanis muscipula."—Opp. ii. 413.

^a Compare back p. 186.

^b This fact appears to me irresistibly proved by Gfrörer in his disser-

tation. See also Die Karolinger, i. p. 479 *et seqq.* Gfrörer seems to infer that they were carried to Rome from beyond the Alps by Rothrad of Soissons.

where such documents had never been heard of, it is difficult to imagine by what arguments a man, not unlearned, could convince himself, or believe that he could convince himself, of their authenticity. Here was a long, continuous, unbroken series of letters, an accumulated mass of decrees of councils, of which the archives of Rome could show no vestige, of which the traditions of Rome were altogether silent: yet is there no holy indignation at fraud, no lofty reproof of those who dared to seat themselves in the pontifical chair and speak in the names of Pope after Pope. There is a deliberate, artful vindication of their authority. Reasons are alleged from which it is impossible to suppose that Nicolas himself believed their validity, on account of their acknowledged absence from the Roman archives. Nor did the successors of Nicolas betray any greater scruple in strengthening themselves by this welcome, and therefore only, unsuspecting aid. It is impossible to deny that, at least by citing without reserve or hesitation, the Roman pontiffs gave their deliberate sanction to this great historic fraud.^c

Nor must be overlooked, perhaps the more important result of the acceptance of the pseudo-Isidorian statutes as the universal, immemorial, irrevocable law of Christendom. It established the great principle which Nicolas I. had before announced, of the sole legislative power of the Pope.^d Every one of these papal epistles was a canon of the Church; every future bull therefore rested on the same irrefragable authority, commanded the same implicit obedience. The Papacy became a

^c Nicolai Epist. ad Episcopos Galliæ, Mansi, xv. 693.

^d Nicolai I. Epist. ad Michaellem Imperatorem, apud Labbe, sub ann. 865.

legislative as well as an administrative authority. Infallibility was the next inevitable step, if infallibility was not already in the power asserted to have been bestowed by the Lord on St. Peter, by St. Peter handed down in unbroken descent, and in a plenitude which could not be restricted or limited, to the latest of his successors.

CHAPTER V.

Hadrian II. Hincmar of Rheims.

NICOLAS was succeeded by Hadrian II., a rigid and lofty churchman, who, though his policy at Hadrian II. Nov. 867. first appeared doubtful,^a resolutely maintained, but not with equal judgement and success, the principles of his predecessor. Hadrian (he was now seventy-five years old) had been married before he became a priest; his wife was still living; and a tragic event, in which the son of another Prelate, Arsenius, the late legate in France, was involved, might suggest to the popular mind that the more absolutely the higher clergy were secluded from all domestic ties the better.

Though the daughter of Hadrian was betrothed to another, she was carried off and married by Eleutherius, the son of Arsenius. Arsenius, implicated no doubt in the affair, fled with all his treasures to the court of the Emperor Louis. These treasures he placed in the hands of the Empress Ingelberga, probably to secure the imperial protection for his son. He died Death of Arsenius the legate. suddenly, and so great was the hatred against him, that he was said to have been carried off while conversing freely with devils;^b at all events, he died without the sacrament, and of his eternal damnation no one had any doubt. Hadrian sent a mission to the

^a Vit. Hadriani, c. 15.

^b "Ut dicebatur, cum dæmonibus confabulans, sine communione abiit in suum locum."—Ann. Bertin., p. 99.

Emperor to demand that Eleutherius should be judged by the Roman law for the abduction of his daughter Eleutherius in revenge, or despairing of the issue, murdered both his wife and her mother, the wife of the Pope.* By the Emperor's command he suffered the penalty of his crimes.

Oct. 12,
A.D. 868.

Hadrian, whether softened by these domestic calamities, appeared at first to take a milder course than Pope Nicolas in the affair of Lothair. He sent back, indeed, Theutberga, who had arrived at Rome to implore the dissolution of the marriage on the plea of her own personal infirmity: but, at the intercession of the Emperor Louis, he took off the ban of excommunication from Waldrada, and restored her to the communion of the Church.

By this lenity he might seem to lure King Lothair to the last act of submission. The King of Lorraine arrived in Italy. The Pope seemed to yield to the influence of Louis and the Empress Engelberga; at least he accepted the munificent presents of the king.

A.D. 868.
Feb. 12.

From Monte Casino, where they first met, Lothair followed the Pope to Rome. There, instead of being received as a king, and as one reconciled with the See of Rome, when he entered the church all was silent and vacant; not one of the clergy appeared: he retired to a neighbouring chamber, which was not even swept for his reception. The next day was Sunday, and he hoped to hear the mass chanted

Lothair at
Rome.
A.D. 869.
July 1-11.

* Hincmari Ann. "Stephaniam uxorem ipsius pontificis et ejus filiam, quam sibi rapuit, interfecit." Anastasius the Librarian (not the biographer of the popes), the brother of Arsenius, was concerned, as was supposed, in this horrible business. The excommunication, already issued against him, was confirmed and repeated by Hadrian.

before him. The Pope refused him this honour. He dined, however, the next day with the Pope, and an interchange of presents took place.⁴

At length Hadrian consented to admit him to the communion. Towards the close of the holy office, holding the body and blood of Christ in his hands, the Pope thus addressed the king: "If thou avouchest thyself innocent of the crime of adultery, for which thou hast been excommunicated by the Lord Nicolas, and art resolved never again to have unlawful intercourse with the harlot Waldrada, draw near in faith, and receive this sacrament for the remission of thy sins. But if thou thinkest in thy heart to return to wallow in adultery, beware of receiving it, lest thou provoke the terrible judgement of God." The king shuddered, but did not draw back. Under a like adjuration, that they were not consentient to the guilt of the king with Waldrada, he administered the rite to the attendants on Lothair. Even Gunther, the contumacious Archbishop of Cologne, having drained to the dregs the cup of humiliation, was admitted to lay communion.⁵

What was the terror of Western Christendom when it became known that every one of these men had perished before the end of the year! A pestilence, so common among northern armies in Italy, especially at Rome, broke out. But a few, and those only, it is said, who had avoided that fatal communion, survived. Lothair himself was seized with the fever at Lucca, with difficulty reached Placentia, and there expired.

Pope Hadrian seized the occasion of the contest for

⁴ The Ann. Bertin. and Ann. Met. do not quite agree in the arrangement of these events. This scene is placed by the former at Monte Casino, sub ann. 819.

⁵ This is the most probable time for the reconciliation of Gunther.

the kingdom of Lothair to advance still more daring and unprecedented pretensions. But the world was not yet ripe for this broad and naked assertion of secular power by the Pope, his claim to interfere in the disposal of kingdoms. Directly he left the strong ground of moral and religious authority, from which his predecessor Nicolas had commanded the world, he encountered insurmountable resistance. With all that remained of just and generous sympathy on their side Popes might intermeddle in the domestic relations of kings; they were not permitted as yet to touch the question of royal succession or inheritance. The royal and the episcopal power had quailed before Nicolas; the fulminations of Hadrian were treated with contempt or indifference: and Hincmar of Rheims in this quarrel with Hadrian regained that independence and ascendancy which had been obscured by his temporary submission to Nicolas.

Charles the Bald his uncle, the son of Louis the Pious and the Empress Judith, seized at once the vacant dominions of Lothair, though the undoubted inheritance of the Emperor Louis II., as brother to the childless deceased sovereign. Charles was crowned at Metz; he rested his claim on the election of the people, and on his coronation by the bishops of the realm.^f The friendship of Louis the Emperor and King of Italy, then engaged in a successful war against the Saracens of Bari, was of greater importance to the Pope than that of Charles, now gathering almost the whole of the Transalpine empire under his sway. He espoused the claims of Louis with headlong ardour. The Emperor, he wrote significantly to the elder uncle

Hadrian inter-
feres in
the disposal
of Lothair's
kingdom.

It is seized
by Charles
the Bald.
June 28, 870.

^f Hadriani Epist. ad Ludovic. German. apud Bouquet, p. 442.

Louis the Germanic, was warring, not like some other kings, against Christians, but against the sons of Belial, the enemies of the Christian faith; and he warned Louis against aggression on dominions which were not his own. "The hand of the Apostolic See will be strong on the side of this most pious Emperor; and the great Dispenser of battles, through the intercession of the chief of the apostles, will ensure triumph."^a

In a letter to the nobles of the kingdom of Lorraine, June 28, 870. Hadrian threatened with excommunication Hadrian resists in vain. all who, disregarding the mandates of the Apostolic See, should oppose the claims of his ally the Emperor. To the nobles of Charles's kingdom he declared, that any one who should assist in his diabolic usurpation, would fall under anathema, and be given up to the companionship of the devil. He summoned the bishops, on their allegiance to the Apostolic See, to dissuade Charles from his ambitious designs. By concurring in such detestable deeds they were preparing him for hell.^b To Charles himself he wrote two letters; one before the invasion, reprehending him for refusing to receive the papal legates; the second after it, threatening him with interdict, and accusing him of perjury for violating, as he said, the treaty of Verdun.

Hincmar had been specially summoned to break off all communion with King Charles, if he did not abandon his cause. Hincmar's answer shows that the doctrine of Wala, as to the inviolability of ecclesiastical fiefs, was not respected by such kings: "Should I do so, I

^a See the account of this campaign, 252.

and one for the imprisonment of the Emperor by the Duke of Benevento, . . . gehennam paratis."—Hadrian, ad Erchempert, c. 34, 35; Pertz, iii ad Episcop. Gall. ibid.

^b "Et illi tam de stabilitate faciende . . . gehennam paratis."—Hadrian, ad Episcop. Gall. ibid.

should soon have to chant by myself in my choir, stripped of all my possessions and vassals."¹

But the king, the nobles, and the bishops pursued their course—the king of ambition, the rest of obsequious obedience—without regarding the denunciations of Hadrian. Hincmar, the Archbishop of Rheims, threw his preponderating weight into the scale in favour of the independence and consolidation of France and its absolute severance from the kingdom of Italy, which now seemed associated with the Empire. He wrote a grave, solemn, and argumentative remonstrance to the Pope. He refused to withdraw, as commanded by Hadrian, from the court of Charles. He embodied in his own language that of Charles and his partisans.^k “You,” said the king and nobles to the bishops, “contribute your prayers only against the Normans and other invaders; if you would have the support of our army as we of your prayers, demand of the Apostolic father, that, as he cannot be both king and bishop, and as his predecessors ruled the Church, which is their own, not the state, which is the king’s, he impose not on us a distant king, who cannot defend us against the sudden and frequent attacks of the pagans, nor command us Franks to be slaves. His ancestors laid not their yoke on our ancestors, nor will we bear it, for it is written in the Scriptures, that we should fight for our liberty and our inheritance to the death.”^m The only enemy or rival whom Charles feared was his brother, Louis the Germanic; but a share in the spoil averted his enmity. Notwithstanding the interdict of

Answer of
Hincmar to
the Pope.

¹ “Quoniam, si ex sententiâ vestrâ haberem potestatem.”—Hincm. Oper. ii. 697.

agerem, ad altare meæ ecclesiæ cantare possem, de rebus autem et facultatibus et hominibus nullam amplius

^k Hincmar. Oper. ii. p. 689.

^m P. 625.

the Pope, and the claims of the Emperor, the Kings of France and Germany quietly divided the dominions of their nephew. This strife was hardly over when Hadrian interposed in another affair, relating to the family of Charles the Bald; in revenge, it might be, for the contempt of his former mandates. Now he asserted his supremacy even over parental authority, though recognised and confirmed by the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm. It is a lawless and cruel history, showing at once the barbarous state of the times, the ambition and inhumanity too prevalent even among the clergy.

Carloman was the fourth and youngest son of Charles the Bald. The Church had already become a provision for the younger sons of kings, who, besides this, supposed that they were propitiating Heaven by the consecration of some of their family to the service of God. Charles the Bald made two such offerings. Lothair, who was lame, was forced to become a monk, and as Abbot of Moutier St. Jean and of St. Germain d'Auxerre, maintained the decency of his station till his death. But Carloman was less suited for the cloister. Though Abbot of St. Médard, in Soissons, he was permitted to
A.D. 866. indulge his warlike inclinations in a campaign against the Normans, with Solomon, King of Brittany. Carloman gained no great glory in this expedition, but imbibed a passion for a restless and adventurous life, unbecoming a monk. Yet abbacies were heaped upon him; when suddenly he was arrested on a charge of conspiring against his father, stripped of all his benefices, and thrown into prison at Sculis. During the same year he was released from prison; but

^a "Plurimorum monasteriorum pater reputatus."—Ann. Bertin.

immediately fled into the Belgic country, raised a band of desperate robbers, and committed frightful ravages over the whole district. The king had no forces at hand to repress these outrages; he had recourse to the bishops, who, as Carloman had received deacon's orders, were urged to interpose their authority. The bandit's companions were excommunicated, and condemned, if they should be taken, to death. Carloman himself, having deceived his father by the promise of surrender, appeared again at the head of his robbers in Lorraine, ravaged the country around Toul, and crossed the mountains (the Vosges) into Burgundy. The bishops were preparing to take the extreme measure of degradation against the apostate ecclesiastic and unnatural son. To their amazement, Carloman having made a secret appeal to the Pope, letters from Hadrian appeared, espousing the cause of the robber July 13, 871. and rebel in terms of unprecedented vehemence. Resentment for the disobedience of Charles, in the seizure of Lothair's dominions, was almost the avowed cause of this extraordinary step. "Not only, O king, hast thou usurped the realm of others, but, surpassing the wild beasts in cruelty, thou hast not in thy rage respected thine own entrails, thy son Carloman. Like the ostrich, as we read in the holy book of Job, thou hast hardened thine heart to thy son, as though he were not thy son. Thou hast not only deprived him of his father's favour, and of all his benefices, but thou hast banished him from thy kingdom, and, what is more impious, endeavoured to procure his excommunication. But Carloman has appealed to the Apostolic See, and by the Apostolic authority we command thee to refrain from thy cruelty, and exhort thee, not, contrary to the apostle's admonition, to provoke thy children to wrath. Restore him

then to thy favour; receive him as thy son with parental affection; reinstate him in his honours and his benefices, at least, till our legates arrive, who, by their authority, with due respect to the honour of both, may dispose and order all things. Heap not sin on sin; forswear thy usurpations, and thy avarice; and showing how thou hast profited by correction, seek with thy whole heart the pardon of the Church; strive to the end lest thou perish everlastingly. The term of thy crimes will be that of our rebuke, and by God's assistance thou wilt reach the end of thy guilt and of thy punishment."

Hadrian at the same time addressed the nobles of France and Lorraine to forbid them to take up arms against Carloman; and the bishops, prohibiting his excommunication. But the clergy of France made common cause with the king, above all Hincmar of Rheims, himself involved in inevitable strife with the Pope. If the king had a rebellious son and subject, supported by the Pope, Hincmar had a contumacious nephew and suffragan, who appealed to the Pope and defied the authority of his uncle and metropolitan. How far common interests had led to any secret understanding between these two rebels against the royal and archiepiscopal authority is not clear; but

Hincmar
of Laon. Hincmar, Bishop of Laon, alone of the Frankish clergy, refused to subscribe to the act of degradation against Carloman. Hincmar of Laon must be made to pass rapidly over the scene. This turbulent nephew of Archbishop Hincmar, who bore the same name, had been advanced by misjudging nepotism in early youth to the See of Laon.* His first acts were

* Hincmar bitterly reproaches his nephew: "*Videlicet quia statim ut a paternæ nilo educationis factus Episcopus evolasti.*"—P. 598.

acts of rebellion and contumacy against the metropolitan authority of his uncle. He had come into collision on an affair of property with the temporal power, and given offence to King Charles the Bald. He was summoned before a secular tribunal, deprived of a rich abbey; even the revenues of his see were sequestered. The nepotism of the elder Hincmar woke again, and entered into alliance with his lofty Churchmanship. He rebuked the unhallowed conduct of the king, who had presumed to lay his profane hands on a bishop, and to adjudge property claimed by the Church. He quoted against the king the irrefragable authority of passages from the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.^p Hincmar of Laon, after an apology not too humble, was reinstated in his abbey and in the possession of his sec.

In the same year came another outbreak of turbulence from Hincmar of Laon, the forcible seizure of a fief to which he laid claim, and the expulsion of Nortman, a noble, by his armed men. The king took up his noble's cause; the Bishop was forced to take refuge before the altar of his church. From thence he actually laid his whole diocese under an interdict: no rite of religion was to be performed in the closed and silent churches. The elder Hincmar put forth his metropolitan power, and annulled the interdict.^q The clergy, aghast, knew not whom to obey, for Hincmar of Laon had appealed to Rome: in Rome he had probably long kept up secret intelligence. He turned his own theologic weapons against his uncle; with passages from the false Decretals he limited and

^p Passages from the letters of Popes Lucius and Stephanus. The document, pp. 316, 333.—Hincmar, Op. ii. p. 323.

^q The charges of Hincmar of Rheims

against Hincmar of Laon contain 55 capitula, or charges, occupying above 200 folio pages in his works, from 377 to 593.

defied the metropolitan power. The quarrel becomes more fierce and obstinate. Council after council meet, at Pistes (866), at Gondeville (868), at Attigny; they meet in vain. Hincmar of Rheims labours in prolix writings to assert the plenitude of metropolitan authority; he has found out that the new Decretals are not so absolutely above doubt, yet he dares not boldly to deny their authenticity. Hincmar of Laon asserts the unqualified supremacy of the Pope. Hincmar of Rheims asserts that the statutes of councils are of higher authority than the decrees of Popes; the Pope's Decretals owe their power to the authority of councils. Hincmar of Laon displays firmness worthy of a better cause; the bishops declare against him, and pronounce the interdict unlawful; the king accuses him of a breach of his oath of allegiance. He appeals to Rome; he exhibits letters of Pope Hadrian, summoning him to Rome. Interference of Pope Hadrian. March 25, 871. Already the Pope had entered into the contest; he had commanded the excommunication, without hearing or inquiry, of Nortman, the claimant and possessor of the disputed fief; he had reproved both the king and the archbishop for daring to forbid the Bishop of Laon to leave the realm and go to Rome. Hincmar of Laon fled to his city of Laon.

Hincmar of Rheims now, in the name of the king, addressed an expostulation to Pope Hadrian; it was strong at once, and not undignified: "You have compelled me by your indecent letters, alike disparaging to the royal authority and unbecoming Apostolic moderation, and filled with outrage and insult, to reply in no very friendly tone. It is time that you should know that, although subject to human passions, I am a man, framed in the image of God, holding through the grace of God the royal dignity by descent from my ancestors;

and, what is far greater, a Christian, an orthodox Catholic Christian, instructed from my youth in sacred and profane laws and letters.^r You have neither legally nor regularly accused me of any public crime before the bishops, still less convicted me. Yet you have dared to call me a perjurer, a tyrant, a traitor, an usurper of the estates of the Church."^s He afterwards asserts that the Kings of France are not the Vicegerents of the bishops, but the lords of the realm; and appeals to former precedents that none of his royal ancestors had been addressed in such terms by the predecessors of the Pope. This letter, however, takes no notice of the most flagrant invasion of the royal rights, the unjustifiable interference of the Pope in favour of the rebel Carloman, which must have been still pending, or at least not determined; it dwells entirely on the affair of Hincmar, Bishop of Laon. This affair, being a revolt, as it were, against the Metropolitan power of the Archbishop of Rheims, seems put forward by that prelate, as though the crime of his own kinsman and the rebellion against spiritual authority were the more heinous offence.

Hadrian had doubtless the sagacity to perceive his error. The correspondence between the king and the Pope became on both sides more amicable.^t Carloman

^r On the literary cultivation of Charles the Bald, compare Sir F. Palgrave's *Hist. of Normandy and England*, p. 273, and note, p. 729.

^s The close of the letter is the most remarkable part. Throughout Hincmar appeals only to the ancient accredited decretals of Leo, Celestine, Gelasius, and to the African Councils. He closes with these words: "We are not ignorant that whatever is written from the Apostolic See according to

the sacred Scriptures, the preaching of the ancients, and the authority of councils, is to be held and obeyed: whatever beyond that has been compiled or forged is not only to be rejected but refuted also." "Quod sicut a quoquam fuerit compilatum sive confictum non solum respuendum sed et redarguendum esse cognovimus."—vol. ii. p. 716.

^t "Quasi tumores et læsiones vestras palpare sensimus, has oleo conser-

was abandoned, and to a tragic fate." Unable to withstand the power levied against him by his father, ^{A.D. 871.} he again surrendered, was again imprisoned at Senlis. Two years afterwards he was brought to trial before the bishops, and degraded from his clerical orders. His partisans, however, and Carloman, no doubt, himself, rather rejoiced in this degradation, which opened again the path of secular ambition. He might aspire, if not to the throne, to a share in the dominions of his father. The bishops had, perhaps, by this time perceived that this division of the royal dominions at the death of each successive monarch was the inherent weakness of the crown, and, dreading a contest for the throne in the distracted state of the kingdom, attacked on every side by the pagan Normans, determined to secure the peace of the Church and kingdom. Carloman was again put upon his trial, and condemned to death. This punishment was commuted for one more barbarous. His eyes were put out, and he was shut up in the Abbey of Corbey. His partisans contrived to carry him off, and conveyed him to the court of Louis of Germany, who named him Abbot of Esternach. He did not long survive his cruel treatment.

If the king triumphed over his rebellious son, so did Hincmar of Rheims over his rebellious nephew. Nor was the Archbishop's nephew more mercifully treated than the King's son. Hincmar of Laon suffered the same fate; he too was condemned, and suffered the

lationis per dulcissimum melos caritatis, et sanctæ dilectionis unguentum fovere, lenire, et ad sanitatem perducere optamus."—Hadrian, *Epist. ad Car. Calv.* Labbe, p. 937.

* See the Acts of the Synod of Doucy, Labbe, p. 1539, 1544. He

was accused by the king as a perjured traitor and disturber of the public peace; by Hincmar, as contumacious against his metropolitan. Hincmar reserved to the Pope only the right of appeal given by the Council of Sardica.—Compare Pianck, iii. p. 183.

loss of his eyes like Carloman. The two rebels against royal and metropolitan authority were thus joined in the same barbarous punishment. Both these events, however, took place after the death of Hadrian, during the rule of his successor. The death of Hadrian may have emboldened the clergy of France to take the affair into their own hands, and so to achieve their full victory.

Nicolas I. and Hadrian II. thus, with different success, imperiously dictating to sovereigns, ruling, or attempting to rule, the higher clergy in foreign countries with a despotic sway, mingling in the political revolutions of Europe, awarding crowns, and adjudging kingly inheritances, might seem the immediate ancestors of Gregory VII., of Innocent III., of Boniface VIII. But the papacy had to undergo a period of gloom and degradation, even of guilt, before it emerged again to its height of power

CHAPTER VI.

John VIII. The Saracens. The Dukes of Lower Italy.

THE pontificate of John VIII. is the turning point in this gradual, but rapid and almost total, A.D. 872. change. Among its causes were the extinction of the imperial branch of the Carlovingian race, and the frequent transference of the empire from one line of sovereigns to another; with the growth of the formidable dukes and counts in Italy, which overshadowed the papal power, and reduced the Pope himself to the slave or the victim of one of the contending factions. The Pope was elected, deposed, imprisoned, murdered. In the wild turbulence of the times not merely the reverence but the sanctity of his character disappeared. He sank to the common level of mortals; and the head of Christendom was as fierce and licentious as the petty princes who surrounded him, out of whose stock he sprang, and whose habits he did not break off when raised to the papal throne.

John VIII., however, still stood on the vantage ground occupied by Nicolas I. and Hadrian II. He was a Roman by birth. He signalised his pontificate by an act even more imposing than those of his predecessors, the nomination to the empire, which his language represented rather as a grant from the papal authority than as a hereditary dignity; it was a direct gift from heaven, conveyed at the will of the Pope. Already there appear indications of a French and Ger-

man interest contending for the papal influence, which grows into more and more decided faction, till the Carlovingian empire is united, soon to be dissolved for ever, in the person of Charles the Fat. John VIII. adopted the dangerous policy of a partial ad-
Aug. 876.
 herence to France. The Emperor Louis, the son of Lothair, had died without male issue. Charles the Bald was never wanting in boldness and activity to advance his claims, just or unjust, to an increase of dominion. He marched hastily into Italy; his nobles crowded to his standard. Of the two sons of Louis of Germany the elder attempted in vain to arrest, or was bribed to permit, his passage of the Alps. The Pope hastened to bestow the imperial crown on Charles. An Emperor with a title so questionable was not
Dec. 17, 875.
 disposed to be scrupulous as to the author of the gift. "We have elected," writes John VIII., "and approved, with the consent of our brothers the other bishops, of the ministers of the holy Roman Church, and of the senate and people of Rome, the King Charles, Emperor of the West." In his letters to the bishops and counts of Bavaria, whom he forbids to espouse the cause of their king in the assertion of his rightful title to the empire, or to invade the territories of Charles, the Pope describes the march of Charles as almost miraculous, and intimates throughout that he was invited by the Church, in which resided the divine power of bestowing the empire.^a No later Pope held more unmeasured language:—"How do we discharge our functions as vicegerents of Christ in his Church, if we do not strive for Christ against the insolence of

^a "Sibi divinitus . . . collatum."—Epist. cccxvii

princes?"^b He speaks of "our son Louis, your glorious king, if he be a son who has always been disobedient to our holy predecessors, if glorious who has waged unhallowed wars against Christians; '*bella gerens nullos habitura triumphos*:' if a king, who cannot govern himself."^c The Bavarian bishops are threatened with instant excommunication if they refuse to concur with the legates of John in preventing the war by mild or by threatening means. Another letter to the bishops who adhered to the title of Louis is still more violent; he treats them as Iscariots, as followers of the fratricide Cain. "They murmur not against Charles, but against God, the giver of crowns."^d But the historians are almost unanimous as to the price which Charles was compelled to pay for his imperial crown. He bought the Pope, he bought the senators of Rome; he bought, if we might venture to take the words to the letter, St. Peter himself.^e

The imperial reign of Charles the Bald was short and inglorious. His brother and rival, Louis
A.D. 876. of Germany, died during the next year, but left his kingdoms and his title to the Empire to his three sons. War broke out; Charles suffered a disgraceful defeat on the Rhine by Louis of Saxony. After his second descent into Italy, where Pope John

^b "Ubi est quæsumus, quod vicem Christi in ecclesiâ fungimur, si pro Christo contra insolentiam principum . . ."—Apud Labbe, sub ann. The whole letter is remarkable.

^c Epist. cccxviii.

^d "Neque enim contra Carolum est murmur vestrum, sed contra Dominum cujus est regnum, et cui voluerit ipse dabo illud."—Ibid.

^e Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 876. "Beato Petro multa et pretiosa munera offerens in Imperatorem unctus et coronatus est. . . . Imperatoris nomen a præsule sedis Apostolicæ Johanne, ingenti pretio emerat."—Ann. Met. 877. "Omnem senatum populi Romani, more Jugurthino corruptit, sibi que sociavit."—Ann. Fulden.

met him at Pavia, he was in danger of being cut off in his retreat by the forces of Carloman, King of Bavaria. He died on the road, in a small Oct. 6, 877. hamlet in the Alps. As his physician was a Jew, it was generally believed that he was poisoned; though the Jews, educated in the Arabian universities of Spain, were no doubt more advanced in medical science than any others in Europe.

John VIII., even before the death of Charles the Bald, might repent of having yielded to the Danger from the Saracens. temptation of bestowing the imperial crown on an obsequious but remote sovereign, who could so ill discharge his office of Protector of the Roman See. But where could he have looked for a more powerful protector against the formidable enemies which were environing the capital of Christendom on every side, the Saracens, and the no less dangerous Christian petty princes of Italy? The whole pontificate of John VIII. was a long, if at times interrupted, agony of apprehension lest Rome should fall into the hands of the unbeliever. The reign of the late Emperor Louis had been almost a continual warfare against the Mohammedans, who had now obtained a firm footing in Southern Italy. He had successfully repelled their progress, but at the death of Louis Rome was again in danger of becoming a Mohammedan city. The Pope wrote letter after letter in the most urgent and feeling language to Charles the Bald soon after he had invested him with the empire.^f "If all the trees in the forest," such is the style of the Pope, "were turned into tongues, they could not describe the ravages of these impious pagans; the devout people of God is destroyed-

^f Ad Carol. Calv. Imper. apud Bouquet, p. 471.

by a continual slaughter: he who escapes the fire and the sword is carried as a captive into exile. Cities, castles, and villages are utterly wasted, and without an inhabitant. The bishops are wandering about in beggary, or fly to Rome as the only place of refuge." The well-known story, whether false or true, by the belief which it obtained, shows the deadly hatred between the Christians and the Moslemin, and the horrors of the war. Salerno was besieged by the Saracens (this was at an earlier period, about the accession of John VIII.): the gallant defence of the city by Count Guaifer probably retarded at that time their career of conquest. The Saracen general, or king as he is called, is said to have violated a number of Christian nuns on the altar in the church of St. Fortunatus. While in this act of cruelty and guilt to one of them he was crushed by a huge beam, which fell or was skilfully detached from the wall. The maiden escaped unhurt.^g The usual appellation of the Saracens by the Pope is Hagarenes, sons of fornication and wrath. In a passage in a later letter to Count Boso, the Pope describes the Saracens as an army of locusts, turning the whole land into a wilderness: extensive regions were so desolate as to be inhabited only by wild beasts.^h The most terrible intelligence of all is that an armament of three hundred ships, fifteen of which carried cavalry, was in preparation to attack and conquer Rome. "Consider," says the Pope, "what a vast and unparalleledⁱ evil this would be; the loss of that city would be the ruin of the world, the peril of Christianity itself." In another pressing letter to Charles the Bald he says, "All Campania is a desert; the Hagarenes have crossed the Tiber, and are

^g Anonym. Salern.

^h c. 7. Epist. xxxviii

ⁱ Incomparable

wasting the suburban district; they destroy all churches and shrines: massacre the monks and clergy." ^k Somewhat later he alludes to the starvation of Rome; some of the senate were in danger of perishing with hunger.^m All this time, bitterly complains the Pope, the Christians, instead of flying to the relief of the Roman see, were engaged in unnatural wars against each other; wars in which John forgets his own concern.

Yet, if possible, even more formidable than the infidels were the petty Christian princes of Italy. "The canker-worm eats what the locust has left." ^{Nov. 16, 876.} These appear to have been the inferior nobles, ^{the nobles in the Roman territory.} the marquises (marchiones) in the neighbourhood of Rome. The more powerful princes seized likewise every opportunity of confusion to enrich themselves or to enlarge their dominions. "Those," writes Pope John to the Emperor, "who are not unknown to you, trample down all our rights in the Roman territory, seize all that the Saracens have spared; so that there is not a single herd of cattle in all our domain, nor a single human being to commiserate or lament the desolation."ⁿ In many parts of Italy had gradually arisen independent dukedoms: and none of these appear to have felt any religious respect for the Pope, some not for Christianity. They were ready on every occasion to assail and plunder the city itself: for which they were sometimes punished, when the imperial power was strong; more often they defied its impotence. A Transalpine Emperor was too distant to maintain awe for any long time. In the South were the old Lombard Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, the Duke

^k He entreats the Empress Richildis to influence her husband to protect him, his whole realm is confined within the walls of the city.—Epist. xxx.

^m Epist. xlv.

ⁿ Epist. xxx.

of Naples, who owed a kind of remote fealty to the Eastern Empire, the Princes of Capua, Salerno, and Amalfi. On the vacancy after the death of Pope Nicolas, Lambert of Spoleto had occupied and pillaged Rome,^o respecting neither monastery nor church, and carrying off a great number of young females of the highest rank.^p Adelgis, the Duke of Benevento, had dared to seize in that city the sacred person of the Emperor Louis.¹ The Emperor had fled with his wife and a few soldiers to a lofty tower, in which he was besieged, and glad to accept terms of capitulation.^r He was only permitted to leave the city after he had taken a solemn oath to Adelgis—an oath in which his wife, his daughter, and all his attendants were compelled to join—that he would neither in his own person nor by any other revenge this act of insolent rebellion. No sooner, however, had Louis reached Ravenna in safety than he sent to the Pope to absolve him from his oath. Hadrian II., then Pope, began to assert that dangerous privilege of absolution from solemn and recorded oaths.^s The two Lamberts of Spoleto were

* The cause of this insurrection was the rapacity of the Empress Ingelberga and the cruelty of the French soldiery with her.—Anastas. in Vit. Hadrian.

^p At a later period, as appears by a letter of Pope John VIII., the same Lambert had demanded the chief of the Roman nobility to be surrendered to him as hostages.—Ann. Bertin.; Ann. Fuldens. sub ann. 871; Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, ibid.

^s Erchempert assigns two reasons why God permitted this humiliation of Louis: because he had insulted Pope Nicolas, and spared two Saracen kings, whom he might have put to

death as Saul did Agag.—Apud Pertz, p. 253.

^r The popular verses current at the time show the profound impression made by this act of treason against the imperial majesty. It is a curious transition specimen of Italo-Latin:—

"Audite omnes fines terræ, horrore cum tristitia,
Quale sceus fuit factum Benevento Civitas,
Lhudovicum comprehenderunt sancto pio Augusto."

The descent of the Saracens in great force was thought a providential visitation for the crime of the Beneventans.

* Liutprand.—Regino, lib. ii.

accused of conniving at, if not consenting to, this daring exploit.

The Duke of Naples, the Greek Emperor's subject, acted altogether as an independent prince. Sergius, who had succeeded his father in the Neapolitan dukedom, was accused of secret and friendly intelligence with the Saracens; of supplying their piratical fleets with provisions, and thus purchasing security for his own dominions by sacrificing the rest of Southern Italy. His uncle, Athanasius, Bishop of Naples (the high families of Italy now, as well as of the Franks aspired to ecclesiastical dignities), had, at the commencement of his reign, reproved him for this alliance with the Unbeliever. Sergius, once imprisoned, afterwards drove his uncle, the bishop, into exile. After the death of the Emperor Louis, during the reign of Charles the Bald, the Pope, John VIII, was more earnestly desirous of breaking this unhallowed league between the so-called Christian and the Saracen. He tried in vain anathema and excommunication. At length he appeared in person at the head of an army with the two Lamberts, Dukes of Spoleto, who had received orders from the Emperor, Charles the Bald, to assist him.^t Guaifer, Prince of Salerno; Palear, Prefect of Amalfi; and Docibilis, Duke of Gaeta, were also on too friendly terms with the Saracens.^u In a conflict between the two armies,

^t Erchempert. Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, A.D. 877.

^u By the assistance of Erchempert we trace the rise and progress of this race of lawless, independent princes. The busiest and not least lawless were the Bishops (in general of the ruling family) Landulf of Capua and Athanasius of Naples. Of these, Landulf,

one of the four sons of Lando, Prince of Capua, became Bishop of Capua. Erchempert insinuates against him the worst vices—and he hated monks!—P. 251. Yet John consented to his episcopate. “Pandenuflus Landenuflum germanum suum conjugatum clericum fecit episcopum, mittensque Romanum Johanni Papæ episcopum fieri

twenty-two Neapolitans were taken and beheaded, as under the papal anathema, with the sanction of the

Athanasius
Bishop-Duke
of Naples.
A.D. 876. Pope.* A second Athanasius, the brother of Duke Sergius, had succeeded to his uncle as

Bishop of Naples. He was a man of lawless and unmeasured ambition, but with specious cunning sacrificed, as it seemed, all the ties of kindred and of blood to the cause of the Pope and of Christianity. He organised a formidable party in Naples, seized and imprisoned his brother the duke, and sent him blinded to Rome, where he died shortly after in misery and disgrace.⁷ The Bishop then took possession of the vacant dukedom; the civil and ecclesiastical offices met in his person, as they had at Capua in the Bishop Landulf. The Pope, John VIII., highly approved of this usurpation, commended Athanasius because he had over-

thrown the new Holofernes, and had not
Nov. 877.

spared his own flesh and blood. The Pope betrayed his inward triumph that a churchman had thus assumed the secular authority: he wrote to the people of Naples confirming the title of Athanasius, and declared that divine inspiration must have guided them in the wise choice of such a ruler.⁸

But the bishop-duke did not scruple to return to the unhallowed policy of his brother. He entered into a new league with the Saracens, gave them quarters, and,

exposcit, a quo et exauditus est."—
Ib. 255. Athanasius is briefly described: "*Episcopus et magister militum.*"

* "*Octavo die anathematis xxii. Neapolites milites apprehensos decollari fecit: sic enim monuerat Papa.*"—
Erchempert, 39.

† The fifth letter of John seems to

have been addressed to Athanasius soon after his promotion to the bishopric. He there threatens Sergius with an irrepealable anathema (non dissolvendum).—Labbe, Concil. ix. p. 5. "*Et Romam mittitur suffossis oculis.*"—
—Erchempert.

‡ *Ad pop. Napolit.* Compare also
Epist. alv

actually uniting his troops with theirs, defeated the forces of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, and opened a free passage for their incursions to the gates of Rome. It was this danger which caused so much alarm to Pope John, and called forth such loud and urgent clamours for aid from the Transalpine powers.^a The united troops of the Christian bishop and the Saracens devastated the whole region, plundering convents and churches, desolating "towns, villages cities, hills, mountains, and islands." Even the famous and holy monasteries of St. Benedict and St. Vincent did not escape.^b

All hopes of succour from the Emperor, Charles the Bald, had been frustrated by his retreat from Lombardy and his death. The Pope, who had gone to meet him at Vercelli, and had held a council at Ravenna, returned only to submit to an ignominious tribute to the Saracens. In vain he launched his anathemas: while they struck with terror remoter parts of Christendom, they were treated with contempt by these lawless chieftains.^c

The imperial crown was again vacant, and claimed by the conflicting houses of Franco and Germany.^d But

^a John hoped to obtain assistance from the Greek Emperor Basil, against his *subject*, as well as against the Saracens. The Greek fleet was in those seas; he begged him to send ten large vessels (*achelandra*) for the protection of Rome.—Epist. xvi. This is urged to excuse the weakness of John in consenting to the patriarchate of Photius.—See above, page 170.

^b Joan. Epist. lvi. lvii. In one of the expeditions of Pandenulfus, one of the princes of Capua, who joined

the Neapolitans and Saracens, the monk, the writer of the history of the Lombard Princes, was taken, stripped of all he had, and carried away captive.

^c Epist. xlv. Docibilis, Duke of Gaeta, had surrendered a fortress, on which, it was said, depended the safety of Rome.

^d From the battle of Fontanet and the treaty of Verdun took place the final separation between France and Germany. Charles the Bald took his

Carloman, son of Louis of Germany, had been acknowledged as King of Italy. Probably as partisans of the German, and to compel the Pope to abandon the interest of the French line, to which he adhered with unshaken fidelity, Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, that anti-Christ, as the Pope described him,* with his adulterous sister, Richildis, and his accomplice, the treacherous Adelbert, Count of Tuscany, at the head of an irresistible force, entered Rome, seized and confined the Pope, and endeavoured to starve him into concession, and compelled the clergy and the Romans to take an oath of allegiance to Carloman as King of Italy. For thirty days the religious services were interrupted; not a single lamp burned on the altars.†

No sooner had they retired than the Pope caused all the sacred treasures to be conveyed from St. Peter's to the Lateran, covered the altar of St. Peter with sackcloth, closed the doors, and refused to permit the pilgrims from distant lands to approach the shrine. He then fled to Ostia, and embarked for France.

When he reached the shores of Provence, John VIII. felt himself in another world. Instead of turbulent and lawless enemies (such were the Counts and Dukes

oath in Roman, Louis in German. The Roman and the Teutonic had begun their antagonism.—See Palgrave, p. 66.

* Epist. lx. There are two letters to Lambert (lxii. and lxiii.), from the latter of which he appears to have treated the Pope with great disrespect, and to have assumed some control over the Legations (Ann. Fulden. sub ann.; see also lxxii.). The Pope disguises this, and accuses Lambert himself of aspiring to the empire. He

had before charged him with a design of permanently occupying the territory of St. Peter and the Holy City; of having sent an embassy to Sorrento to conclude an alliance with the Saracens, and to invite a reinforcement of their troops.—Epist. ad Concil. Trec. xc.

† The clearest description of this is in letters to the Archbishop of Ravenna, to Count Berengarius, the Empress Ingelberga, and to Louis the Stammerer.—lxxxiv. vii.

of Italy), whose rapacity or animosity paid no respect to sacred things, and treated the Pope like an ordinary mortal, the whole kingdom of France might seem to throw itself humbly at his feet. He was received at Arles by Boso, Duke of Lombardy, master, likewise shortly to become King, of Provence,^g and whose ambition aspired to the Empire. Boso, after having poisoned his first wife, had married, it was said by force, Ermengard,^h the daughter of the Emperor, Louis II. Wherever the Pontiff went he was received with the highest honours. He summoned a council to be held at Troyes. Louis the Stammerer, King of France; the three kings, the sons of Louis of Germany, were cited to appear. Louis alone obeyed the mandate.

John VIII.
in France.

May 11, 878.

August.
Council of
Troyes.

No Pope was more prodigal of excommunication than John VIII. Of his letters, above 300, it is remarkable how large a proportion threaten, inflict, or at least allude to this last exercise of sacerdotal power.ⁱ The Council of Troyes opened with the recital and confirmation of the papal anathema against Adelbert of Tuscany and Lambert of Spoleto. The anathema was ratified with one voice by the assembled bishops, and commanded to be published in all their churches, and in those of their suffragans. Formosus, Bishop of Porto, the Apostle of the Bulgarians, afterwards Pope, the

^g On the advancement of Boso to the throne of Provence, see Bouché, *Hist. de Provence*, pp. 738, 769; Palgrave, note 744. The Pope's first act was to erect Arles into a metropolitan see, and to grant the pallium to the Bishop, Rostagne; afterwards he appointed him Legate, with full powers.—*Epist.* xc. *et* seq.

^h Ermengard was the last of the line of Lothair, the eldest son of Louis the Pious.—*Epist.* cxvii.

ⁱ The wiser Nicolas had warned bishops against too frequent use of this precious weapon: "Non temere ad excommunicationes procedant . . . ne auctoritas episcopalis vilesceat."—Labbe, viii. 562.

head, it seems, of the German faction, was involved with all his accomplices in one sentence of excommunication, degraded, and anathematised. The obsequious episcopal senate echoed each anathema with perfect concord. Another broad and sweeping excommunication comprehended all persons who should in any way usurp the property of the Church; they were excluded from the communion of the faithful, and, if they persisted in not making restitution, deprived of Christian burial. The Pope did not scruple, of his own authority and that of the council, to make an addition to the fundamental laws of the Transalpine realm. He found the Teutonic code imperfect, as containing no statute against sacrilege; he caused to be inserted that in the Justinian code, mitigating the fine from five pounds of pure gold to thirty pounds of tried silver. In return

for this humble resignation of his authority,
Sept. 7, 878.

John VIII. condescended to crown Louis the Stammerer King of France; his queen was excluded from that honour on account of some irregularity in her marriage. He rendered, moreover, to Louis the service of excommunicating some of his enemies, especially Bernhard, Marquis of Languedoc. The execution of this act was confided to another Bernhard, of Provence, who was to be rewarded out of the confiscation. Nothing was too lofty to defy, nothing too mean to escape, the fulminations of John. He will soon appear anathematising the three great Archbishops of Italy — of Milan, Ravenna, and Naples:^k he launched an excommunication, addressed to all Christians, against some thieves who had stolen his horses, and a silver cup

^k *Kpist.* cxxviii. Milan, May 1, 879; cclxxviii., Ravenna; cclxx., Naples.

belonging to St. Peter, when John was on his way to Troyes.^m

The indefatigable Pope returned over the Alps by the Mont Cenis, to Turin and Pavia; but of all whom he had so commandingly exhorted, and so earnestly implored to march for his protection against the Saracens, and no doubt against his Italian enemies, none obeyed but Duke Boso of Provence.ⁿ For this extraordinary mark of fidelity, the Pope showed extraordinary gratitude; he declared Boso, as Duke of Lombardy, his adopted son. Since the son of Louis the Stammerer, Carloman, was married to the daughter of Duke Boso, the Pope was thus bound in closer alliance with the house of France. The ambition of Count Boso aspired, after the death of Carloman, King of Italy, to the Empire. The death of Louis the Stammerer, and the intrigues concerning the succession to the A.D. 879. throne of France, thwarted in one way the policy of the pontiff; in another, seemed to encourage his ambition, at least to strengthen, rather than mitigate, his animosity to the German Carolingians. He wrote to Charles the Fat,^o the King of Swabia, hereafter to be Emperor, to warn him, under peril of excommunication, against any invasion on the dominions of Boso, his adopted son.^p This was to close the gates of Italy against the Germans, to keep them beyond the Alps. If it had been the policy of John to erect a firm, hereditary kingdom in the north of Italy, in alliance with,

^m Epist. xcvi. In the Council of Troyes, which closed Sept. 878, the episcopal dignity was asserted by a decree that all the public authorities should pay the bishop the respect due to his rank—not sit in his presence till leave was granted; and this asser-

tion was likewise guarded by excommunication.—Labbe, Concil. p. 314.

ⁿ John, Epist. cxix.; Labbe, p. 89.

^o Charles the Fat was the eldest of the three sons of Louis the Germanic.

^p Epist. ccxi. *et seqq.*

and as a protector of the papacy against the Saracen and the lawless southern dukes, his object might, perhaps, justify this usurpation of authority. But his sole design was to obtain a kingdom for his adopted son. He attempted to summon a council at Pavia, as obsequious as that which had met at Troyes.^a In tone, partly of persuasion, partly of menace, he cited Anspert, Archbishop of Milan; Berengar, Duke of Friuli, and the Bishops of Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and Modena. Four times was Anspert summoned, twice at least

Excommu-
nication of
Archbishop
of Milan.

excommunicated, and threatened with the utmost power of the Roman See.^r By this excommunication of Anspert he would establish his despotic authority over the Bishops of Lombardy. But Anspert and the Italian Prelates and Counts paid not the least respect to the papal summons or the papal excommunication: they neither appeared at Pavia, nor, in obedience to a later summons, at Rome.^s In Provence the adopted son of the Pope met with better success among the clergy. A synod of ecclesiastics met at a place called Montaille, in the territory of Vienne, and assumed the right of founding a new kingdom, of disregarding the rights of the sons of

Boso king of
Provence.

Louis the Stammerer, and of investing Boso with the title of King of Provence and of Arles. The influence of the Pope had no doubt great weight with the Bishops of this Council. Boso is said to have paved the way for his elevation by the promise

^a Epist. cxxvi. cxxviii.

^r The Pope afterwards invested the Bishop of Pavia, in legatine authority, with full power of excommunication; he interfered in the appointment of Anspert's successor, degraded a bishop

consecrated by Anspert, and named another in his place. To the death of Anspert, John considered him under the sentence of excommunication.

^s Epist. clxxxi. clxxxii.

of wealthy abbeys to be attached, by royal and papal authority, to the Episcopal Sees.[†] The Council consisted of the Archbishops of Vienne and Lyons, of the Tarantaise, and of Aix, with seventeen suffragan Bishops. Of their sole authority, though with some tacit consent of the nobles, compelled by the necessity of providing for the security of their churches, and acting at least with the implied assertion of divine commission," they elect the King, but do not define the boundaries or extent of his kingdom. In their address they strongly impress on Boso his royal duties, especially regard for the honour of God, the protection of the Catholic faith, the exaltation of the Church. Boso received the gift with profound humility; he acknowledged that he received the crown from their good-will alone, and promised the fullest obedience to God's inspired priests.* Thus Councils had become Diets or Parliaments, awarded and carved out kingdoms. The nobles of Provence make neither protest nor remonstrance.

Pope John in the mean time was compelled to crown the Emperor, Charles the Fat. Charles had marched with a preponderating force into Italy; John had met him at Ravenna, reluctant but obedient.[‡] Though Charles was of the German line, the Pope yielded, yet he yielded with haughty condescension. "We have called you by the authority of our letters, for the advantage and exaltation of the Church, to the Imperial Sovereignty." The Pope enjoins him before his arrival in Rome to send some of his chief officers to ratify, in

[†] Labbe, Concil. Arles signs as Episcopus; but he had already received the pallium from John.—Epist. xcii. *et seqq.*

[‡] "Nostri Dei, per suffragia sanctorum . . . Christo præduce."

* Apud Labbe, Concil. ix. p. 333.

‡ Aug. 879, Hincmar Annal.

his name, all the privileges of the Roman Sec. He acknowledges the Emperor's power of making ordinances concerning the territory of St. Peter, which he is bound to protect against the Saracens and evil-minded Christians: "The Church must suffer no diminution, but rather be augmented in her rights and possessions."^a

Charles the Fat, crowned Emperor,^a by degrees became master of the whole dominions of Charlemagne. For a few years the Empire of the West displayed its ancient unity. The kingdom of Arles stood alone in precarious independence. But though he received at Rome the Imperial Crown, the Emperor could afford no efficient protection against the Mohammedans. The Pope, who was founding kingdoms beyond the Alps, who was again interfering in the ecclesiastical quarrels of Constantinople, alternately absolving and excommunicating the Patriarch Photius, confirming or annulling the so-called general Council of Constantinople, was trembling within the walls of Rome at the invasion of the Saracens, and in vain heaping interdict on interdict, not merely on the secular princes, but against an ecclesiastic, a more dangerous enemy.

Athanasius, the Duke-Bishop of Naples, still maintained in secret his unholy alliance with the enemies of the Cross.^b The Pope visited Naples,^c in order to persuade him to join the other Dukes in a general defensive league against the common enemy of Christendom. He offered large sums of money, which Athanasius

^a Epist. ccxvi. ccxvii.

^a Coronation of Charles, Christmas 880, or early in 881. See Muratori, sub ann.; Jaffé, Feb., March, 881. The western empire of Charles was properly only from 884 to 887.

^b Athanasius stood by no means alone. See the excommunication of the people of Amalfi for the same cause.—Epist. ccxxy. and ccxlii.

^c Epist. ccxxvii.

received with unscrupulous avidity, and pledged himself to break off his wicked alliance. But the perfidious Prelate not merely kept up his amicable relations with the Saracens, he punctually received his share of the booty made during their ravages.^d The Pope, in the most solemn manner, pronounced the sentence of excommunication; he declared Athanasius ^{April 8, 881.} suspended from his office, and cut off from the communion of the Church.^e It was not till a year after that Athanasius yielded, or pretended to yield, to the terrors of the sentence. He sent a deacon to Rome to assure the Pope that he had abandoned his infidel allies. But the mistrustful Pope demanded, before he would grant the absolution which he sought, some more convincing evidence of his sincerity. He required that Athanasius should commit himself with his old allies, by an act of signal perfidiousness and cruelty; that he should seize the chief of the Mohammedans, send them to Rome, and massacre the rest in the presence of the Legates. By this *Christian* act, demanded by the head of Christendom, he was to obtain re-admission to the Christian Church, and the right to officiate as a Christian Bishop.^f It is almost impossible to trace the intricate labyrinth of intrigue, treachery, crime, war, which filled the later years of this Duke-Bishop. Nothing was done without an oath; and no oath influenced for a day his policy or his actions. His great object was to make himself master of Capua, an object seemingly attainable through the deadly feuds of the various descendants of the

^d Epist. cclxvii.

^e Epist. cclxx

^f "Atque si presentibus his nostris, Marino videlicet reverendissimo episcopo et sanctæ sedis nostræ arcario, et

Sicone egregio viro, majores Saracenorum quantos melius potes, quos nominatim quærimus, cum aliis omnibus caperes, et, *aliis omnibus jugulatis*, eos nobis direxeris."— Epist. ccxciv. 882

Ducal house, whom Lando, the Bishop, had committed in interminable strife. They, in their revenge, as each party obtained or lost the mastery at each turn, made or degraded a Bishop. The Saracens in the mean time, courted by all parties, impartially plundered all, made or broke alliances with the same facility as the Christians,^g while the poor monks, even of St. Benedict's own foundation, lived in perpetual fear of spoliation. The last days of John VIII. were occupied in writing more and more urgent letters for aid to Charles the Fat, in warfare, or in providing means of war against his Saracen and Christian foes, or in dealing excommunications on all sides; yet facing with gallant resolution the foes of his person and his power.

This violent Pope is said (but by one writer only)^h to

A.D. 882.
Dec. 15.

have come to a violent end: his brains were beaten out with a mallet by some enemy, covetous of his wealth and ambitious of the papal crown. That he had enemies who would not have scrupled at such a crime, rests on his own acknowledgement, and these were men of high rank and official dignity. In the early years of his pontificate, Gregory the Nomenclator, and George his son-in-law, are accused

April 19, 876.

of having for eight years, that is almost during the whole pontificate of John, committed the most enormous crimes, and aimed at seizing the papacy. The actual crime which called for the terrible sentence of anathema against these men was a conspiracy either to murder the Pope and his faithful adherents,ⁱ or to introduce the Saracens into the city.^k They had been cited

^g "Saraceni invitati ab omnibus, omnia diruunt, omnia consumunt."

^h Ann. Fuldens. Contin.

ⁱ "Summum Romanæ urbis pontificium, conjurantibus sibi dudum suis

complicibus factiose præripere affectavit."—Epist. cccix.

^k "Donec aut nos cum fidelibus ecclesiæ Dei potuissent perimere, aut Saracenos, quos jam per suos fami-

to answer this charge; and, after much suspicious delay, had seized a large portion of the treasures of the Church, passed the gate of St. Pancrazia with false keys, and left it open to the marauding Saracens, who might have surprised Rome. It is the most remarkable part of the affair that Formosus, Bishop of Porto, called the Apostle of the Bulgarians, and afterwards Pope, is involved as an accomplice in these dark charges, and named in the same sentence of excommunication. Yet the specific offences urged against Formosus are of a totally different kind—disobedience to the Roman See, and an attempt to raise Bulgaria into a new province independent of the Pope. From early times the Bishop of Rome in his person had been less an object of awe and less secure in Rome than in any part of his spiritual dominions; but this conspiracy anticipated the coming darkness of the next century. Either the Pope grounded on a false and wicked invention, or, at the best, on an unwarranted suspicion, this most terrible accusation; or there were persons of the highest rank in the service of the Pope, so blinded with faction, so infatuated with crime (for, according to the Pope, they were men of the most rapacious and licentious habits), on whom their allegiance to the Pope hung so loosely as not to make them shudder at shedding the blood of the successor of St. Peter, or at surrendering the metropolis of Christendom to the unbeliever.

Almost the first act of Marinus,^m the successor of

liarissimos æquè Saracenos invitaverant, in Romanam urbem ad perditionem omnium intrmittere valuisse.”—*Ibid.* The letter which relates this conspiracy and the excommunication is addressed to the bishops of Gaul and Germany; and it is remark-

able that it dwells strongly on the conspiracy being an act of treason, not to the Church only, but “contra salutem reipublicæ et regni dilecti filii nostri, Caroli, serenissimi principis.”

^m Marinus, or Martinus II., 882, died May or June 884.

John VIII., was the absolution of Formosus, his release from his oath not to enter Rome,ⁿ and his reconciliation with the Holy See. The decided partisanship of this measure declares the triumph of the German faction, and makes it more probable that the vacancy was caused by violent means. The enforced acknowledgement of Charles the Fat, as the master of the whole Carlovingian empire, by John VIII., would not necessarily combine the factions arrayed against each other during years of fierce animosity. It was a German Emperor who again ruled the world, and his supporters would seize the opportunity of more than triumph, of revenge. The short pontificate of Marinus was followed by the still shorter rule of Hadrian III., which lasted but fourteen months. That of Stephen V., though not of longer duration, witnessed events of far more importance to the papacy, to Italy, and to Christendom.

On the death of Charles the Fat, the ill-cemented edifice of the Carlovingian empire, the discordant materials of which had reunited, not by natural affinity, but almost by the force of accident, dissolved again, and for ever. The legitimate race of Charlemagne expired in the person of his unworthy descendant, whose name, derived from mere physical bulk, contrasted with the mental greatness, the commanding qualities of military, administrative, and even intellectual superiority, which had blended with the name of the first Charles the appellation of the Great.

ⁿ Formosus had sworn (at Troyes, Sept. 14, 878) never to enter Rome, or to resume his episcopal dignity. "Formosus enim nequam angustatus jurejurando promisit, ut Romuleam urbem nunquam ingrederetur, ad reconciliationem sui honoris nunquam accederet, suumque episcopatum nunquam reciperet."—Auxilii Trecc. apud Mabillon, *Analect. Vet.* p. 51.

CHAPTER VII.

Anarchy of the Empire and of the Papacy.

AT the expiration of the Carlovingian dynasty the question between the conflicting claims of the Transalpine sovereigns to the Empire was for a short time in abeyance. Italy aspired to name her own king, and to assume that the Empire belonged of right to the King of Italy. But there was no one of her dukes, either of Lombard or Italian descent, so pre-eminent in power and influence as to command the unanimous assent: no Pope on the throne of Rome who could seize this glorious opportunity of securing the independence of Italy. Pope had been following Pope in rapid succession; and the feuds in Italy and in Rome, though the main cause of their animosity, the Imperial title, might seem removed, raged with unallayed ferocity. Guido, Duke of Spoleto, and Berengar, Duke of Friuli, were put forward as competitors for the empire by their respective partisans in the South and in the North. At first Berengar and Guido agreed amicably to share the spoil. Guido hoped to obtain the Transalpine, Berengar the Cisalpine dominions.* But Guido had formed some wild hopes of succeeding peaceably to the French dominions of Charles the Fat. He entered, it is said, into an amicable arrangement with Berengar; and while his antagonist was strengthening his interest in

Berengar and
Guido assume
the crown of
Italy.

* Liutprand, apud Pertz, p. 250.

Italy, crossed the Alps on his adventurous quest after the crown of Burgundy. He returned with the shame of having been scorned and foiled in this enterprise, and with the just imputation, which probably affected him much more, of having broken faith with Berengar, and so weakened the claims which he hastened to resume upon the kingdom of Italy. The dukes and counts of Italy were divided. Those of Spoleto, Cambrina, Tuscany, joined the banner of Guido; the Lombards were generally on the side of Berengar. The bishops did not stand aloof from the war; they appeared in arms on either side. Yet the general feeling was still so strong against the unseemliness of Christian prelates mingling in battle, that the poetical panegyrist of Berengar, out of respect for the sacred ministry, refuses to record their names.^b Two bloody battles were fought, one in the Brescian territory, one near the Trebia. In the last Guido won the victory, and took possession of Pavia, with great part of Lombardy. An assembly of bishops in Pavia assumed the right of electing Guido to the kingdom of Italy.^c After the death of

Popes Hadrian III and Stephen V.

Marinus, Hadrian III. had ruled rather more than one obscure year.^d The Pope Stephen V. had been chosen during the lifetime of Charles the Fat, in the presence of the Imperial ambassador; yet the last

^b Apud Muratori, t. ii. p. 1. Throughout this poem Berengar is an Italian; Wido (Guido), a Gaul (Gallicus ductor); Arnulf, a German: he is the "Ductor Barbarus." The national distinctions and national animosities are growing more marked and strong.

^c See in Muratori the decrees of this Council. There is a remarkable popular provision. The commonalty (plebei homines) were to be governed by their law. All illegal exaction or oppression was prohibited. Such injuries were to be redressed by the count; on his neglect or refusal, by the bishop, who, for this end, was to use his power of excommunication.—Art. vii. p. 415.

^d May, 884; Aug., Sept., 885.

Carlovingian resisted the assumption of the full Papal power without his special consent. Stephen V. was crowned by Formosus, Bishop of Porto.^c Feb. 21, 891. Stephen had espoused the cause of Guido with ardour. The King of Italy came to Rome, and was crowned as Emperor by the Pope.^f The death of Stephen, and the election of Formosus Sept. 891.
Formosus. to the Papacy, changed the aspect of affairs, and betrayed the hostilities still rankling at Rome. By the election of Formosus was violated the ordinary canonical rule against the translation of bishops from one see to another (Formosus was Bishop of Porto), which was still held in some respect. There were yet stronger objections to the election of a bishop who had been excommunicated by a former Pontiff, excommunicated as an accomplice in a conspiracy to murder the Pope. The excommunicated Formosus had been compelled to take an oath never to resume his episcopal functions, never to return to Rome, and never to presume but to lay communion. The successor of John had granted absolution from these penalties—from this oath. This election must have been a bold and desperate measure of an unscrupulous faction.^g Nor was Formosus chosen without a fierce and violent struggle.^h The suffrages of a party among the clergy and people had already fallen upon Sergius. He was actually at the altar preparing for the solemn ceremony of inauguration, when he was torn away by the Sept. 891.
Inauguration
of Formosus. stronger faction. Formosus, chosen, as his partisans

* *Investiv. pro Formoso*, apud Anastas.

^c *Annal. Fuldens.* sub ann.

^g *Liutprand*, sub ann. 891.

^h "Stephano quoque Papa, Adriani filio, viam universæ terræ ingresso,

adunati sunt episcopi proceresque tui, clerici quoque et populus cunctaque vulgi manus, et venerunt in sedem Portuensem infra urbem sitam, cui Formosus præerat, papam eum acclamantes."—*Auxil. Trec.* apud Mabill.

declared, for his superior learning and knowledge of the Scripture, was then invested in the Papal dignity. Sergius fled to Tuscany, which adhered to the cause of Guido, or an Italian Emperor. Formosus and his faction may have preferred the common Papal policy, which dreaded the dangerous neighbourhood, it might be the despotic power, of an Italian Emperor, and, as churchmen, thought the pontifical power more secure under the protection of a remote Transalpine Emperor. Personal hostility to Guido may have allied itself with this feeling; yet was Formosus compelled to send the Imperial diadem to Lambert, the son of Guido.¹

Feb. 27, 892.

Already the Formosans were in correspondence with Arnulf, whom Germany at least had then acknowledged as the heir, though illegitimate, of the Carolingian house,—the sole heir of that famous race. Already Arnulf had claimed and exercised a kind of imperial supremacy. His authority ratified the election of King Bosso to the throne of Arles (or Provence). He had threatened to descend on Italy at the first assumption of the kingly title by Berengar; but Berengar, eager for his revenge against Guido, now joined in the invitation of the Transalpine sovereign.^k

Arnulf crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army. He was received in Verona by Berengar, and one terrible example of German ferocity prostrated Italy at his feet in shuddering consternation. Bergamo dared to offer resistance; he hung the Count in full armour and with all the ornaments of his rank

¹ Jaffé adopts this chronology seemingly on strong grounds. But I cannot help suspecting that this is an anticipation of the act of submission from Formosus, after the retreat of

Arnulf.

^k Document in Muratori, 893 Annual. Fuldens. Arnulf is summoned "ad Italicum regnum et res S. Petri a malis Christianis eruendum."

before the gates, and gave the town up to pillage.^m In the language of the day, it made the ears of all who heard tingle. Milan and Pavia opened their gates. Guido fled to his territory of Spoleto. Even the powerful princes, the Marquis of Tuscany among the rest, were unable to stand before the terrors of the German arms. Their presumption in claiming certain feudal rights was resented by Arnulf. They were compelled to swear allegiance to Arnulf, as King of Italy; the claims of Berengar were dismissed with silent contempt.ⁿ But Italy, as usual, revenged herself by her climate on the northern army. Sickness broke out, and Arnulf turned back to the Alps. No sooner was he withdrawn than the party of Guido, now strengthened by many other Italian princes, who had been offended by the pride of the Barbarian Arnulf, rose up and threw off the yoke. Guido had died,^o but his son Lambert, already his colleague, assumed alone the kingdom of Italy and the Imperial crown. Even Pope Formosus was obliged to affect an ill-assumed concord with the Italian Lambert.^p

But the next year^q appeared again the invincible

^m The siege is described in the poem concerning Berengar. Neither the churches, nor the sacred virgins, nor the priests, whose hands were wont to be kissed after the celebration of the mass, were respected :

‘Ecce verenda prius nullo sub honore
tenentur
Atria, nam acissis pereunt velamina vittis
Virginis, impulsusque sacer fugit ipso
minister,
Quorundam stringunt ambas quia vic-
cula palmas,
Oscula quæ solitæ sacris sentire litatis.’
—*lil.* p. 397.

ⁿ Anonym. Salernit. I follow Muratori in the sequence and date

of these events.

• The prayers of the clergy, according to Berengar’s panegyrist, had hastened Guido’s death.—*iii.* p. 399.

^p “De ipso Lamberto, patris se curam habere, filiiq̃ue carissimi loco eum diligere, atque inviolabilem cum eo concordiam se velle servare.”—*Flodoard Hist. Rem.*

^q During this year Arnulf had shown himself a faithful son of the Church, at the Council of Tribur, in which he had confirmed the power and privileges of the clergy, and recognised the supremacy of Rome.

Arnulf. Italy quailed before him. Arnulf treated the claims of Berengar and Lambert with impartial contempt. Every city and castle hastened to tender submission. Though Italy's best allies, disease and pestilence, had already begun again to weaken the German army, and gathering movements in the north under Berengar threatened to cut off the retreat to the Alps, Arnulf reached the gates of Rome at the earnest supplication of Formosus, now the captive of his subjects.^{*} For there the faction adverse to the Pope Formosus had gained the mastery. They had the boldness, and imagined that they had strength to resist. Preparations

Sept. 895.
Arnulf again
in Italy.
In Rome.

were made for defence. Arnulf moved with his whole army to the siege of the imperial city, to the release of the Pope. A trivial accident betrayed Rome into his hands. A hare startled by the noise ran towards the city, followed by a hooting multitude. The Romans mistook this for a general assault, were seized with a panic, and many threw themselves over the walls. The Leonine quarter was easily taken; the whole city submitted to the conqueror. The first act of the ally and deliverer of the Pope was

April, 896.
Coronation of
Arnulf by
Formosus.

publicly to behead the chiefs of the opposite faction. The first act of the grateful Formosus was the coronation of Arnulf as emperor.

He declared null, as extorted by compulsion, the inauguration of Lambert. The next day the people were summoned to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor. The oath was in these words: "I swear by these holy mysteries, that, saving my honour, my law, and the fidelity I owe to my Lord the Pope Formosus, I both

^{*} Liutprand, i. 8. "A Romanis vehementer afflictabatur."—Hermann Contract. in Chronica

am and will be faithful all my life to the Emperor Arnulf; that I will never assist Lambert the son of Ageltruda, nor Ageltruda herself, nor be accessory to the surrender of the city to either of them, or to their followers."

Arnulf ventured to remain in Rome no more than fifteen days. He left Farold, one of his great vassals, as governor and protector of the city. He marched towards Spoleto, where Ageltruda, the widow of Guido, had taken refuge. As he approached that city, he was seized with a paralytic disorder, attributed to poison administered to him by a servant of Ageltruda. Already was this crime in Italy the suspected cause of every sudden death or dangerous malady. He hastened almost as a fugitive to Germany. Though of the German party, Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, sees the hand of God in this shameful flight of Arnulf. The Italian hatred of the German breaks through even party feeling. "Not merely did Arnulf assume all the glory of his victories to himself, instead of referring them to God, but the conduct of his troops demanded the divine vengeance. Priests were led about in chains; nuns violated; even the churches were no asyla; the soldiers held their profane orgies, performed their shameless acts, sang their ribald songs, indulged in the open prostitution of women, within the consecrated walls."

Before Arnulf had crossed the Alps, the Pope Formosus had died; all Italy had risen. The two factions of Berengar and Lambert were equally hostile to the Germans. Arnulf governor in Rome seems to have exercised no influence in the election of the Pope, which was carried at once by the opposite party. The choice fell on Boniface VII. The new pontiff laboured under the

Death of
Formosus,
May 23, 896.

Boniface VII.

imputation of having been twice deposed for his profligate and scandalous life, first from the subdiaconate, afterwards from the priesthood. Boniface died of the gout fifteen days after his elevation. The Italian

June 6, 896.
Stephen VI.

party hastened to the election of Stephen VI. Probably the German governor had withdrawn before Stephen and his faction proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the lifeless remains of Formosus.* Fierce political animosity took the form of ecclesiastical solemnity. The body was disinterred, dressed in the papal habiliments, and, before a council assembled for the purpose, addressed in these words: "Wherefore wert thou, being Bishop of Porto, tempted by ambition to usurp the Catholic see of Rome?" The deacon who had been assigned as counsel for the dead maintained a prudent silence. The sacred vestments were then stripped from the body, three of the fingers cut off, the body cast into the Tiber. All who had been ordained by Formosus were re-ordained by Stephen. Such, however, were the vicissitudes of popular feeling in Rome, that some years after a miracle was said to have asserted the innocence of Formosus. His body was found by fishermen in the Tiber, and carried back for burial in the church of St. Peter. As the coffin passed, all the images in the church reverentially bowed their heads.†

The pontificate of Stephen soon came to an end. A new revolution revenged the disinterment of the insulted prelate. And now the fierceness of political, rather than religious faction, had utterly destroyed all

* Liutprand attributes the violation of the tomb of Formosus to Sergius, his former rival; he must be corrected by the acts of the Council of Rome under John IX.—Labbe, p. 502.
† "Hoc namque a religiosissimis Romanis persæpe audivi. — Liutprand.

reverence for the sacred person of the Pope. Stephen was thrown into prison by his enemies, and strangled.^u The convenient charge of usurpation, always brought against the Popes whom their adversaries dethroned or put to death, may have reconciled their minds to the impious deed, but it is difficult to discover in what respect the title of Pope Stephen VI. was defective.

Pope now succeeded Pope with such rapidity as to awaken the inevitable suspicion, either that those were chosen who were likely to make a speedy vacancy; or they received but a fatal gift in the pontificate of Rome. Romanus and Theodorus II. survived their promotion, each only a few months.^x The latter, by his restoration of Formosus to the rights of Christian burial, and by his reversal of the acts of Stephen VI., may be presumed to have belonged to that faction. The next election was contested with all the strength and violence of the adverse parties. John IX. was successful; his competitor, Sergius, according to some accounts formerly the discomfited competitor of Formosus, and his bitter and implacable enemy, fled to the powerful protection of the Marquis of Tuscany.^y

^u See Flodoard, and the epitaph on Stephen, found in the time of Alexander III. After stating that "reputet Formosi spurca superbi crimina," it says—

"Captus et a sede pulsus ad ima fuit
Carceris interea vinculis constrictus, et uno
Strangulatus nervo exiit et hominem."

^x A.D. 897, Romanus, July, Nov.

"Quatuor hanc plenos tractans in culmine
mensas." *Flodoard.*

Theodorus II., Nov. Dec. Flodoard says that he sate only twenty days. Some months must have slipped out. Theodorus had time to reverse the decrees of Stephen, and solemnly to

reinter Formosus. Theodorus seems to have aimed at reconciling the parties.

"Hic populum docuit connectere vincula
paula
Atque sacerdotes concordi junxit honore." *Flodoard.*

^y In the strange confusion which prevails throughout this period, it is doubtful whether this election of Sergius and his flight to the court of Tuscany did take place on two occasions, or whether the first is not an anticipation of the event which now took place.

"Icellitur urbe pater, pervadit sacra
Joannes,
Romuleosque egros dissiptat ipse lupus.

John IX. was not content with the replacement of the remains of Formosus in the sacred quiet of the tomb. He determined to crush the opposing party by the decree of a Council. This Council—for the dominant assembly was always a Council (that of which the decrees were to be revoked was degraded to a synod)—annulled at once the unprecedented judgment passed on a dead body; it excused those who were present at that synod, as acting under compulsion, and severely condemned all who should use such violence against the clergy. It declared that the translation of Formosus from another see, though justified by necessity in his case, was not to be drawn into a precedent. The orders which he had bestowed were confirmed, the ordinations condemned. It sentenced the decrees of that synod to be burned. But though John IX. was thus avowedly of the party of Formosus, he found it expedient to submit to the Italian Emperor. The title of Lambert was fully recognised at Rome: the coronation of the Barbarian Arnulf² rejected with scorn. The secret of this apostasy was the utter extinction of the German party. Arnulf, by his flight, had become contemptible to the whole of Italy; and he was known to be dying of a slow disease. The Council endeavoured to secure the more peaceful election and consecration of the Popes. The people were to demand, the bishops and clergy to elect, and immediately to consecrate in the presence of the Imperial Legates. No oaths or promises were to be

So writes the hostile author of the *Epitaphium Sergii apud Pagi*. The more friendly Flodoard—

² *Joannes subit hic qui fuit in ordine bonus*

Pellitur electus patriâ quo Sergius urbe, Romulidumque gregum quidam traduntur abacti.

² Jaffé must be right in reading Arnulf for Berengarii, *Regesta*, p. 304.

extorted from a new Pope, except those sanctioned by ancient custom. Another canon prohibited the strange practice, which nevertheless long defied all authority of law, the right of plundering the Pope's palace immediately on his decease.

Nor did Pope John IX. lose the opportunity of condemning his rival Sergius, by the authority of a Council. He was excommunicated, with several other priests and inferior clergy, as accessory to the insults against the body of Formosus. Sergius laughed to scorn the thunders of his rival, so long as he was under the protection of the powerful House of Tuscany.

With John IX. closed the ninth century of Christianity ; the tenth, in Italy at least, the iron age, had already darkened upon Rome ; the Pontificate had been won by crime and vacated by murder.

Died July,
A.D. 901.

CHAPTER VIII.

Conversion of Bulgaria.

YET in remoter regions, even during the ninth century, Christianity was gathering in nations of converts. One man, indeed, who is deeply involved in the fierce contests, loaded with the heaviest charges of guilt, struck by the condemning thunderbolts of the Church, and after a short period of hard-won power as Pope, dragged from his grave, insulted, then restored and canonised; the Pope Formosus, thus at once a leading actor and the victim in these fatal feuds, is described, by a poetical panegyrist, as the Apostle of the Bulgarians, the destroyer of their temples, as having endured many perils in order to subdue them to the faith.^a The perils of Formosus as a missionary are the embellishments of the poet.^b Formosus went into Bulgaria as a legate from Pope Nicolas, some time after the conversion of the King, in order to complete the Christianisation of the people, and to correct the errors which they had learned from their first teachers, the Greeks.

The name of the Bulgarians, a race, next to the Huns, the most terrible and most hateful to the invaded

^a "Præsul hic egregius Formosus laudibus alter
Evehitur, castus, parvus sibi, largus egenis,
Bulgariæ genti fidel qui semina sparsit,
Delubra destruxit, populum cælestibus armis
Instruxit, tolerans discrimina plurima."

Pseudoard, apud Mabillon, Secl. iii. Benedict.

^b Anastasius in Vit. Formosi.

Europeans was known in the West as early as the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth.^c Their Asiatic residence had been on the shores of the Volga; it is disputed whether the river took its name from the people, or the people from the river. In Europe, either mingled with, or bordering upon the Slavonians, they spread over a large tract of territory, from the shores of the Palus Mæotis and the Euxine, along the course of the Lower Danube. While the Teutonic tribes had gradually yielded to the mild yoke of Christianity (the fierce Northmen alone, who poured forth in their piratical vessels from the lakes and the havens on the Baltic and the German Ocean, still remaining heathen), for three centuries no impression seems to have been made on the Bulgarians or the Slavonians, who occupied the north-eastern frontier of the Empire. They were still rude, warlike, and chiefly pastoral tribes, inaccessible alike to the civilisation and the religion of Rome. The Eastern Empire had neither a Charlemagne, to compel by force of arms, nor zealous monkish missionaries, like those of Germany, to penetrate the vast plains and spreading morasses of the re-barbarised province on either side of the Danube; to found abbacies and bishoprics, to cultivate the soil, and reclaim the people.

The first establishment of Christianity in Bulgaria took place in the ninth century. There is a strange uniformity in the instruments employed in the conversion of barbarous Princes, and through the Princes of their barbarous subjects. A

The Bulgarians.

First conversion.

^c Eunod. Panegyric, in the sixth century. Pope John VIII., with the total ignorance of history not uncommon, asserts that the Bulgarians had been under the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff since the time of Pope Damasus.—Epist. lxxviii.

female of rank and influence, a zealous monk, some fearful national calamity; no sooner do these three agencies coincide, than the heathen land opens itself to Christianity.^d

The sister of Bogoris, the King of Bulgaria, had fallen in her childhood into the hands of the A.D. 863, 864. Greek Emperor; she had been a captive for thirty-eight years, and had been educated at Constantinople in the Christian faith. A monk, Theodosius Cupharas, had been long a bond slave in Bulgaria. During certain negotiations to avert war between the Empress Theodora and the Bulgarian King, an exchange was proposed of the captive Princess for the learned monk. If the monk had made any impression on the Barbarian Monarch, the gentle importunity of his sister still more favourably disposed him to the cause of Christ. A pestilence ravaged Bulgaria; and with that facility with which all polytheists try the powers of conflicting deities, Bogoris did not scruple to adore the God of his sister. The plague was stayed; the King acknowledged the might and the goodness of the Christian's God, but feared to encounter the more bigoted and obstinate Paganism of his subjects. He chose a singular method to undermine their prejudice. There were two monks from Constantinople, sons of Leo of Thessalonica, distinguished for holiness, zeal, and learning; Cyril (his proper name was Constantine) was familiar with the Greek, Latin, Slavonian, Armenian, and Khazarian languages. The other, Methodius, was a monk, whose skill in painting had excited the wonder of the Barbarians. By the intelligible preaching of this wonderful art, King Bogoris hoped to familiarise

^d Theophanes, Chronograph.

men's minds with the tenets of the Gospel.* But he knew his people; images of terror alone would touch their savage hearts. By his advice, A.D. 863, 864. Methodius painted the Last Judgement; he represented the punishment of the damned with all the horrors his imagination could suggest, or his pencil execute. The King shuddered at the awful spectacle by which he had thought to alarm others: he earnestly solicited Theodora for a priest to unite him to those sons of the Church who could alone hope for escape from that horrible destiny. The image-worshipping Empress, delighted at once with the progress of Christianity, and this testimony to the power of painting, lost no time in despatching a Bishop on this important mission. But the nobles of Bulgaria, and the mass of the people, were unmoved by the terrors which agitated the inmost soul of the King. The ceremony of the royal baptism could only be ventured under the veil of darkness; and no sooner had the secret transpired than a formidable insurrection broke out in favour of the national gods. The rebels invested the palace, threatened the King with death, and were prepared to raise a new sovereign to the throne.† But the faith of Bogoris was firm; he marched out to meet his revolted subjects with the cross upon his breast, and with only forty-eight attendants. At the sight of the courageous monarch, a sudden panic seized the insurgents; they fled on all sides. The King's vengeance showed no great progress in Christian humanity; he put to death all the rebellious nobles, with their families, not sparing an infant. To the lower orders his clemency granted a general amnesty.

* Cedren. Hist. l. 2, p. 152. Symeon Logothet. apud Theophan. Contin. p. 664. Zonaras.

† Nicol. I. Respons. xvii.

Constantine, who is better known under his name of Cyril, who had been long employed in the conversion of the Khazars, on the north shore of the Euxine, was now sent by the Empress Theodora to complete the conversion of the people. Cyril spent some time in the country, and then passed on to the spiritual conquest of Moravia.

But the King of Bulgaria, either from the ardent interest which his new religion had awakened in his mind, or with political objects, aspired to enter into relations with Western Christendom. The fame of the Pope, and his acknowledged supremacy in the West, as well as his claim to be the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ throughout the world, had reached the fervent proselyte. The brother of the King appeared in Rome to request the advice of the Pope on matters which perplexed the yet uninstructed faith of the barbarous nation. The contempt and hatred of the Bulgarians for the Greeks may have led them to suspect the purity of faith derived from that quarter. The quarrel for the See of Constantinople between Ignatius and Photius was at its height: and this suspicion may have been deepened by the well-timed or accidental visits of Latin missionaries. Hence the Bulgarians may have determined to have their Christianity from the highest authority.

The 106 questions submitted to the Pope by the King of Bulgaria, embrace every point of ecclesiastical discipline, of ceremonial observance, and of manners.

The Pope was Nicolas I., a prelate, whose name might well have spread into the remotest regions, with all the awfulness which belonged to a supreme pontiff. Nicolas replied to these questions in a tone mild, Christian, and parental, except towards apostates to

heathenism. His answers tend in general with wise discretion to mitigate the ferocity of a savage nation.^g

The King of Bulgaria is gently reminded that he has adopted the worship of a more merciful God; that the careless and Eastern prodigality with which he was accustomed to sacrifice human life was inconsistent with his new faith. The conscience of Bogoris was haunted by compunction for the massacre of his nobles. The Pope censures the cruelty, which involved the innocent children in the crime of their fathers; yet the massacre, as executed from zeal towards God, might be atoned for by penance. Nicolas should perhaps not be harshly judged for this leniency towards a past and irrevocable act of barbarity, perpetrated under such circumstances. Apostates from the faith, who refuse to listen to the admonitions of their spiritual fathers, are to receive no toleration from the government,^h but those without the Church God alone will judge. The simple people had inquired whether it was lawful to pray for their fathers who had died in unbelief; the Pope sternly prohibits this vain mark of filial affection. He could not, even if he would, mitigate the damnation of their fathers without weakening one of the most effective arguments for their conversion. But no violence was to be used against those who continued to worship idols, only all communion was to be avoided with them. The power which Nicolas demanded for the clergy was, in some degree, no doubt intended to soften the barbarity of the people.ⁱ The laws were to take their course against all

^g "Veruntamen absit a mentibus vestris, ut tam impiè jam judicetis, qui tam pium Deum et dominum agnovistis; præsertim cum magis oporteat ut, sicut hactenus ad mortem facile quosque pertraxistis, ita deinceps non

ad mortem, sed ad vitam quos potestis nihilominus perducatis."—No. xxv., Labbe, Concil., p. 527.

^h xviii. xlii.

ⁱ Awe of the priesthood was a first element of their Christianity. A Greek,

ordinary crimes ; but even the adulterer, the murderer, the parricide, if he could reach the asylum of the Church, was under the protection of the Bishop, and to be judged by his milder judgement. Torture for the purpose of obtaining evidence is strongly prohibited.^k

The Pope did not attempt to extinguish the passion for war in a people like the Bulgarians, even if he had any sense of its incongruity with the Gospel. They were to go to battle no longer under their old national ensign, the horse-tail, but under the banner of the Cross. On the question whether they were to refrain from going out to battle on holy days, he is guarded, and allows large discretion for cases of necessity. Instead of observing fortunate days and hours before they went to war, and using enchantments, sports, plays,^m songs, and auguries, they were to go to the Church, to make offerings, to confess to the priests, and to perform such acts of charity as opening the prisons, emancipating slaves, and almsgiving to the poor. They had a stern but, no doubt for discipline very effective usage, that before battle some tried warrior inspected the arms and the horse of each soldier ; where they were found neglected or unfit for use, he put the offender to death. The Pope ingeniously suggests that greater attention should be paid to the spiritual preparation of the soldier.ⁿ

pretending to be a priest, had profanely baptised many Bulgarians. The king, having detected him *by the inspiration of God*, had ordered him to have his nose and ears cut off, to be severely scourged, and expelled the kingdom. The Pope reproves the inhumanity of this punishment, and admits all the baptisms as valid,—No. lxxxvi. viii.

^k No. xiv. xv. No. lxxxvi.

^m What were these joci ? war dances, or ludicrous exhibitions of dwarfs and buffoons, such as delight savages ? The Pope afterwards, in condescension to the weakness of their faith, permits such amusements, except during Lent.—No. xlvii. No. xxxiii. iv.

ⁿ Nicolas quotes Ps. xxxiii. 17, and

On the ancient superstitions and manners of these barbarians these questions are less particular than will satisfy the curious inquirer. The king was accustomed to eat alone, not even his wife might sit down in his presence.^o The Pope gently persuades to a more sociable and humble demeanour, alleging the example of the Son of God, who condescended to eat with his disciples. The warlike people were accustomed to administer their oaths on a sword driven into the earth as the most sacred symbol. The Pope commands them to substitute the Holy Gospels.

Polygamy he strictly forbids; whoever, according to the ancient usages of the people, had two wives, was to confine himself to the first.^p Marriage within the prohibited degrees is interdicted, and spiritual consanguinity is declared to be equally close with that of blood: intermarriage with a godfather or his offspring is as incestuous as with an actual parent or kindred. The Pope delights in condemning some minute and superstitious usages enjoined by the Greeks in the marriage ceremonial and in the observance of Lent; his rule is of course that of the Roman Church. Nicolas sums up the whole with a solemn warning against the errors of the Greeks and Armenians, and earnestly persuades adherence to the one immaculate Church, that of Rome.^q

Prov. xxi. 31. "The horse is prepared against the day of battle, but safety is of the Lord."

• No. xliii.

^p There was a singular question, whether after conversion they were bound to wear breeches (*femoralia*). The Pope answers that religion has nothing to do with their ordinary

dress; and extricates himself by giving the question a spiritual turn.—lix.

^q A more memorable question is what they are to do with certain profane books which they had taken from the Saracens (where and at what period does not appear). The reply of the Pope is in the true spirit of Amrou, "Let them be burned."—No. ciii.

The allegiance of the Bulgarian Church to the Patriarch of Constantinople or to the successor of St. Peter was an object of contest during several centuries. Each could adduce evidence of voluntary submission on the part of the Bulgarians, the Greek the commencement, the Latin the completion, of the conversion. The Popes rested their claim not solely on their universal supremacy, but on that of the Archbishop of Thessalonica, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged, and who, as an Illyrian Metropolitan, was asserted to be under ancient subordination to Rome. The strife endured through the papacy of Nicolas and Hadrian II. Many angry and some expostulatory letters appear among those of John VIII. to Paul Bishop of Thessalonica: and during his own papacy Formosus steadily urged the work of conversion. The King Michael (such was the baptismal name of the Barbarian Bogoris after the Emperor of the East) must have been perplexed to hear that he had only learned error and heresy from his Greek teachers, that he was no Christian worshipper, but a blasphemer.* "It might even have been worse. Would he have embraced the Christianity of Constantinople when that city held Arian or Macedonian doctrines? If he had so done, he would have become a convert only to perish with his teachers in everlasting fire. The only security was in the irreprehensible Church of Rome." Ignatius was Patriarch of Constantinople when the Greek Bishops were warned to withdraw from the spiritual territory of Rome. But even Ignatius, though bound by his interests and gratitude to the unshaken supporter of his claims to the

* Joann. VIII. Epist. lxxv. et seq. See on the other side the letter of Photius; a full defence of the Greek points of difference. Epist. l.

Patriarchato against the usurper Photius, would not surrender the rights of his Church over the Bulgarians. Ignatius, the Holy Patriarch of Constantinople, became almost as odious at Rome as his exiled rival Photius. This contumacy contributed to throw the Pope, contrary to the policy of his predecessors, and to the indignation of the West, which has been perpetuated by later writers, on the side of Photius. The hope of the surrender of the Bulgarian provinces was among the temptations which induced John VIII. to acknowledge the title of Photius. Centuries did not reconcile the strife.

The Greek missionaries in the mean time, Methodius and Cyril, were passing on to new Christian conquests. The wars of Charlemagne had disseminated some compulsory Christianity among certain of the Slavian tribes. Other partial attempts had been made, especially by the Archbishop of Salzburg.

Radislav, the Prince of Moravia, standing in need of a political alliance with the Emperor Michael, readily admitted these indefatigable monks into his kingdom. Before long the king, his brother, and the people were baptized, a church was built in honour of the Virgin Mary at Wilibrad,^a and the Christian priests were held in such high respect by the nation that they were called by the name of Princes.^b

Christianity brought other gifts in her train. The Slavian dialects were as yet unwritten: their alphabet was the invention of Cyril.^c This pious man and his colleagues not only so far mastered the language as to

^a Wilibrad, now Hradisch.—Palacky, i. p. 122.

^b The Church of Olmutz boasted higher antiquity; it was *rebuilt* by King Radislav and Cyril.

^c The Pope (John VIII.) ascribes the invention of the Slavian alphabet to Constantine the *philosopher* (Cyril), as if his philosophy had been called into use in this good work.

preach with success; they translated, it is said, the Bible, probably certain books of the Scripture, into the dialect of Moravia, and even ventured to celebrate the services of the Church in that tongue. This great question as to the celebration of the Liturgy in the vulgar tongue of those barbarous nations who might embrace the faith, had raised no jealousy in the East, where Greek was so widely spoken. The translation of the Bible into the Mæso-gothic by Ulphilas had been hailed as a triumph of the faith.

Except perhaps among the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and the remoter parts of Germany which were subdued to Christianity by the sword of Charlemagne, throughout Western Christendom a large part of the population was Roman, or provincials who spoke Latin. At first the clergy continued to be of Roman descent. New languages were forming in Italy, Spain, and Gaul on a Latin groundwork; the Latin services of the Church, therefore, ceased, only gradually and partially, to be intelligible to the common ear. No doubt the constant repetition of these services in the Church contributed to give the Latin element the predominance in these mingled languages; and the transition was so irregular and imperceptible that there would be no precise time at which the sacred Latin would be called upon to abdicate its immemorial use as the Liturgical language. The Church could follow with difficulty, even in her popular preaching, these shifting and unsettled forms of speech.* Even in the more Teutonic parts of Ger-

* Charlemagne ordered Paulus Diaconus (in 782) to make a collection of his Latin sermons for his whole realm. Successive Councils—at Arles (Can. x.) and Tours (Can. iv. xvii.), as well as Rheims (xiv. xv.) and Mentz (xxv.)—commanded preaching in German as well as in Latin. The *Heliand*, the *Muspelli*, and still earlier poetic versions or paraphrases of Scripture, are

many, though the German language, in its various dialects, was beginning to sever Germany from France, the Latin and German or Theotisc oath taken at the treaty of Strasburg (the Latin by Charles, the German by Louis), was at once the sign and the commencement of the estrangement and future oppugnancy of the Latin and Teutonic. Still even in German Germany Latin had already gained and strove to maintain, through the clergy, its sacred and venerable character.

But among the Slavian tribes the Greek missionaries had penetrated into regions of unmingled Barbarism, where the mass of the people were entirely unacquainted with either of the two great languages of the Roman Empire. Rome by some untraced connexion which had grown up between these Greek missionaries in Slavonia and the Roman See (the monks were probably image-worshippers, and so refused obedience to Iconoclastic Constantinople)^y was called upon to decide this important question. The missionaries Methodius and Cyril, who were supposed guilty of propagating the fatal errors of the Greeks in Bulgaria, appear in Rome as the recognised apostles of the Slaves. They brought the welcome offering of the reliques of Clement, the successor of St. Peter, which Cyril boasted to have found on the barbarous shores of the Euxine. Their creed was examined, declared unimpeachable. Cyril died in Rome. Methodius was acknowledged as Archbishop of Moravia and returned with that title to his

of the reign of Louis the Pious and of his sons.—Gfrörer, *die Karolinger*, i. 66. The subject will be resumed. The author of the *Chronicon Salernitanum* (written in Lower Italy) speaks of the

“Lingua Tedesca quod olim Longobardi loquebantur.”

^y Methodius, it must be remembered, was a Painter.

diocese. According to one account, somewhat legendary in its tone, at an early period under Nicolas I. and his successor Hadrian an amicable discussion took place, and Cyril by a triumphant inference from the words of the Psalm, "Let every spirit praise the Lord," (and if every spirit should praise the Lord, why are not the praises of the Lord in the mass and the canonical prayers to be sung in the Slavian tongue?) overcame the scruples of the Pope.

The controversy was renewed during the pontificate of John VIII. The Pope at first prohibited this departure from ancient usage, this desecration of the Church services by their celebration in a barbarous tongue.^a Methodius, the Archbishop of Moravia, again appeared in Rome. He was received with the utmost respect. Again his creed was pronounced unimpeachable, his labours honoured with the highest praise,^a and the Pope declared that God had made other languages besides the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin; that it was not inconsistent with sound doctrine to sing the mass or to read the Gospel in the Slavian language. As a mark of respect, the service and the Gospel were first to be read in Latin, and then translated for the use of those who were ignorant of that language.^b

From Moravia Christianity spread into the neighbouring Slavian principality of Bohemia. The Prince Boriwoy and his wife, afterwards the Sainted Ludmila, were admitted to baptism. Swatopluk, who valiantly, if not without perfidy, had thrown off the German yoke, and vindicated the liberties of Moravia, had married a Bohemian princess, sister of Boriwoy. The patriotic historian rejects as an unworthy fable that, so long as

^a Epist. xcvi.^a A.D. 880.^b Epist. cxlvii.

the Bohemian was a Pagan, the Christian Swatopluk would only permit her to sit at a lower table in the banquet; he rejects also a rebellion of the Bohemian subjects of Boriwoy in favour of their native gods. Ludmila outlived her two sons, successively Princes of Bohemia;^c but she had watched with more than a mother's care, a Christian mother's, the growth of her grandson Wenzel, under whose reign Christianity won the complete conquest of Bohemia, and who died not indeed by a brother's hand but by a brother's guilt, with the beauty of a martyr's death, if not absolutely as a martyr for the faith. Wenzel built churches in every city of the realm. God, says the legend, had given him such grace, that he could understand Latin books like a good Bishop, and could read Slavian without difficulty. He fulfilled all the works of faith, fed and clothed the poor, protected widows and orphans, redeemed bond-slaves, especially priests, exercised hospitality to strangers. Gentle and full of love to the high and to the low, his only care was the well-being of all. But the fierce Bohemian nobles hated the mild and peaceful Wenzel. His brother Boleslaw was at the head of a conspiracy; he attempted to assassinate the king with his own hand; the stronger Wenzel struck him down. "God forgive thee, my brother," he said; but he did not strike again. Wenzel was despatched by the other conspirators.

But Wenzel's work was done; Christianity remained the religion of Bohemia; Wenzel was worshipped by the people; he became the tutelar Saint of the land.^d

* Compare Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmer*, i. p. 135.

^d Palacky, 210

CHAPTER IX.

The Northmen.

THE ninth century beheld also the invasion of the remoter North by Christian zeal. The intrepid missionaries penetrated into those regions which were pouring forth their swarms of pirates on all the coasts of Europe. They sought the Northmen among their own dark pine forests, their blue fiords, and icy lakes. They crossed the Baltic and assailed the last retreat of the old Teutonic divinities, where the faith appeared in its fullest mythological character, in Scandinavia.

The tide of barbaric invasion, which had been thrown back by Charlemagne, began to pour again in a different course over Western Christendom. It was no longer vast hosts, or whole nations moving in masses upon the frontiers, entire tribes crossing the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Danube, and either retiring with their plunder or forming settlements within the territory of the Empire; it was by sea, and on every coast from the British Ocean round to the Adriatic, that the heathen Northmen on one side, the Saracens on the other, threatened the conquest of Christian Europe. The Saracens contested or had won the command of the Mediterranean; all along the south they had ravaged or formed settlements. Sicily was almost entirely Saracen; and they have been seen advancing along Italy even to the gates of Rome: a mosque threatens to rise on the ruins of St. Peter's. In the next century, from a settlement in the province

of Genoa, they infested the passes of the Alps; murdered many passing English pilgrims in the defiles; even reached Genoa in search of plunder.^a The Northmen in the mean time were wasting the whole of Northern Europe. From the shores of the Baltic, from the Scandinavian islands, from the gulfs and lakes, their fleets sailed on, wherever the tide or the tempest might drive them. They seemed to defy, in their ill formed barks, the wildest weather; to be able to land on the most inaccessible shores; to find their way up the narrowest creeks and shallowest rivers; nothing was secure, not even in the heart of the country, from the sudden appearance of these relentless ravagers. The invasion of the piratical Northmen had disturbed the declining years of Charlemagne himself; that sagacious king had seen their approach with prescient terror. His wise policy had planned the only sure defence against such enemies—the building and keeping afloat a powerful fleet, and the erection of strong forts, with garrisons, at the mouths of the rivers. But during the reigns of his imbecile and disunited successors, these precautions were utterly neglected. They had not an armed ship on the seas, and not a standing troop of soldiers; the desultory forces, which they raised, dispersed immediately the campaign was over. Year after year these plundering expeditions were becoming more incessant, more ubiquitous. Not a province in any of the kingdoms, hardly a city in the most inland district escaped these terrible visitants.^b The civil wars which still continued throughout these disastrous years, with the gradual decline of the warlike

^a Flodoard.

^b There is no necessity, with Gfrörer, die Karolinger, to suppose that the Normans were hired or urged by the

hostile sons of Louis the Pious to invade each other's dominions. Gfrörer is again too keen-sighted.

nobility and the absorption of the great fiefs by the churches and the monasteries, yielded up the country almost defenceless to the merciless invader. The great feudatories, the descendants of the Frankish chieftains who had conquered Gaul, and received large grants of land, were rapidly dying out. When most needed to head their hardy vassals, they had either perished in the strife between the different branches of the feeble and hostile Carlovingians, or had retired into the cloister. Instead of bequeathing a noble estate, with strongly fortified castles, and a hardy band of followers, the Baron had alienated it to the all-absorbing Church, and for the stronghold a peaceful and defenceless monastery had arisen. At the fatal battle of Fontanet, were said to have fallen 100,000 men. The poet, the historian, describe Fontanet as yielding up the defenceless realm to the Normans.^c That very year, Osger, the Norman, warped up the Seine, burned Rouen; in his descent, burned the rich abbey of Jumièges. Fontenelle bought its security at a high price.^d From that time every river of France was darkened with the black sails of the Normans. They sailed up the Somme—Abbeville, Amiens, all Picardy lay waste. Again they sailed up the Seine—Rouen, Paris, were in the power of the ferocious Regnar Lodbrok. They were in the Loire—

* According to the Ravennese biographer, 40,000 fell on the side of Lothair alone.

"La perit de France la flor,
Et des Barons tuit le mellor,
Ainsi trovèrent Palens terre
Vuide de gens, bonne a conquerre."
Wace, Roman de Rou, l. p. 16.

"Totam Franciam, militum præsidio nudam, cujus robur in bello Fontanido nuper deperierat, tantus metus cor-

ripuerat, ut Normannis nemo possit resistere, nemo possit repellere."—*Fragm. Historic. Duchesne, Script. Norm. iii. p. 334.* See other quotations in Depping, *Histoire des Normands*, p. 68; Eginhard, *Vit. Car.* p. 452.

^d See Sir F. Palgrave's picturesque description of this expedition, p. 322.

Nantes, Orleans, Blois, Tours (once saved, it was believed, by the all-powerful reliques of St. Martin), had been saved only to fall on the next assault into more terrible ruin: Angers, Chartres were burned. They struck inland to Bourges, to Clermont. They were in the Garonne—Bordeaux, Toulouse, Saintonge, Auch, Limoges, Poitiers, Tarbes, were in flames. It is an appalling and significant fact that the Pope consented to transfer the useless Archbishopric of Bordeaux to Bourges, even though Bourges, in the heart of the land, had not been secure. They followed the coasts of Spain. They ran up the Groyne, the Tagus, the Guadalquiver. In the south of Spain they encountered the Saracens: near Seville met the fleets of the worshippers of Odin and the followers of Mohammed. The Arabic chronicles are not silent on the descents of these new unbelievers. They roved along the Mediterranean; they forced their way against the stream of the rapid Rhone. Arles, Nismes, even Vienne, suffered the inevitable fate of conflagration and pillage. One adventurous band had heard some vague rumours of Rome, of her vast wealth.* They sailed across; mistook the Magra for the Tiber; landed near the fine old Etruscan city of Luna. The Bishop and his clergy were celebrating mass on Christmas day, when they heard of these unknown strangers; they received them with courteous Christian hospitality. Hasting, the famous leader, submitted to baptism. Ere long the Norman camp rang with shrieks of sorrow—Hasting was dead. Some nights after they entreated sepulture for Hasting in the holy cloister. The great captain was borne amid his weeping followers to the grave. As they were about to lower the bier, up sprang

* Depping, ii. 2, p. 80.

the dead man, and cut the bishop to the earth. The priests were massacred; the city plundered; all the wealth of Luna, her beautiful women, and all her youths who could run, were swept on board the fleet. So ran the Norman legend. Italian history has preserved a fragmentary record of this wild event.^f Pisa too is said to have been surprised and sacked.

Germany was not more secure. Very early the Scheldt, the Wahl, the Lys, had been made high-roads to the mercantile cities of Flanders. Year after year, Utrecht, Antwerp, Ghent, Courtray, were pillaged. The broad Rhine was too tempting a road. Nimeguen, Cologne, Bonn, Coblenz, Bingen, even as far as Worms, opened their gates, or had their gates beaten down by the irresistible pirates. Mentz alone seems to have been secure behind her strong walls. On their descent, they sacked Treves. Archbishop Hincmar fled with the reliques of St. Remi, from Rheims: he fled to die in terror and obscurity. From some unknown cause the adventurers did not penetrate into Rheims, though they plundered all the monasteries around; but in Aix-la-Chapelle the barbarous Normans pitched their camp in the palace courts of Charlemagne. Charlemagne's descendants submitted year after year to ignominious capitulations. The peace which they could not win, which they rarely strove to win, with the sword, was bought by large sums of money. Charles the Bald, Louis the German, each of the conflicting kings, who called themselves the sovereigns of the empire, paid in turn this ruinous and disgraceful tribute.

The Northmen were heathens; their ferocious religion

^f Depping, 112. "*Luna civitas a Normannis dolo capta.*"—Fragm. Chronic.; Muratori, Ant. Ital. i. 25. "*La Città di Luni fu disfatta per gente uitramontane.*"—Villani.

no doubt exasperated their natural ferocity; their gods, like themselves, were warriors and pirates. But they did not, like the Saracens, wage a religious war. Providentially these Arabs of the sea had no Mohammed to organise the Scandinavian tribes into one vast host; to give them the unity and force of a new Northern Caliphate. They had no ambition to propagate their faith. Perhaps they would have been unwilling to share with others the protection of their warlike gods. They had rather that their enemies should believe in a milder religion, which yielded them up unresisting, or feebly resisting, to the plunderer or the conqueror. They destroyed, with indifferent ferocity, the church and the castle. Their indiscriminate rapacity plundered alike the monastery or the farm. They massacred with as little remorse the bishop or the monk, as the count or his vassal. If their chief ravages appear to have been made upon religious edifices or estates, it was only because these were more defenceless, or offered a richer booty; and because the only chroniclers, the monks, have been more eloquent on their own sufferings; have dwelt on the sacrilegious, more than on the inhuman acts of their common enemies. The Church now paid dearly for her wealth and possessions: the richer the abbey, the more tempting the prey, the more remorseless the plunderer. France was covered with bishops and monks, flying from their ruined cloisters, their burning monasteries, their desolate churches, bearing with them the precious reliques of their saints—their saints who could not defend their violated sanctuaries—and so deepening the universal panic. And everywhere they went they preached despair. The Normans were the instruments in God's hands for the punishment of the sins of the people: it was vain to resist the wrath of

God; and so a wretched fatalism bowed to a more utter prostration the cowed and spiritless race. Even the few ecclesiastics, who saved something from the common wreck, were taxed for the tribute paid by the kings, and bitterly taunted the kings with this profane invasion of the property of the Church. The great ecclesiastics, indeed, were not all so unwarlike; here and there an abbot took upon him the uncongenial function of captain

A.D. 885.

over his own troops. In the famous siege of Paris, as it were the consummation of the Norman conquests, the defenders of the city, with the valiant Count Eudes, were the Bishop Gozlin and his nephew Ebles, Abbot of St. Denys.^g Yet no sooner had the Normans from wandering pirates become conquerors of the soil; no sooner had they taken possession of Normandy, than they submitted to Christianity; and it is singular, that they ceased to be Teutons as well as Pagans. The followers of Rollo became Frenchmen as well as Christians; so at a later period, the Normans, already Christians, in Naples became Italians.^h

Christianity had made some efforts, at an earlier period, to reach the remote regions from which issued forth these terrible Pagans, but without marked or signal success. A fortunate or providential event opened Denmark to her exertions. A contested succession to the throne of that kingdom had driven one of the Princes, Harold, to the court and to the protection of Louis the Pious. Charlemagne had already, during his Saxon conquests, entered into an alliance with the

^g Depping, iii. 1, p. 218. The ten months' siege of Paris had its monkish Homer, Abbo. A later poet, more Homeric, Ariosto, had that siege in his thought when he brought the

Saracen Agramont under the walls of Paris. Sir F. Palgrave has quoted some of his stanzas.

^h See Guizot, *Collect. des Mémoires*, tom. vi.

ancestor of Harold. That prince embraced the faith of Christ, not only as the price of succour in the contest for his throne, but in zeal and sincerity; he was baptised at Ingelheim with great pomp in the year 826.¹ His sponsors were the Emperor, the Empress Judith, and King Lothair. The return of Harold to Denmark seemed to the Danish Prince, to the bishops of the empire, and to the pious Emperor, too favourable an opportunity to be neglected for the promulgation of the Gospel in that heathen kingdom. A zealous and devoted missionary was invited to undertake the perilous adventure.

The abbey of Corbey, near Amiens, was the great monastic institution in that part of the Empire. Among the abbots had been the famous princes Adalhard and Wala, illegitimate scions of the race of Charles Martel. In that abbey there was a monk of noble French descent, of the gentlest disposition, but of deep and settled piety.^k From his childhood he had been possessed by an ardent imagination; and that imagination, as was sure to be the case in that age, had yielded itself up as a willing bond-slave of religion. At the early age of five his mother's death had made a strong impression on the sensitive child. A remarkable dream decided his calling. In his sleep he fancied himself struggling on a miry and slippery ground, beyond which lay a beautiful meadow. There he beheld a lady of stately form, in

¹ Bishop Munter suggests, rather too positively, that the king must have made the renunciation in the form enacted by S. Boniface at the synod of Salzburg, A.D. 742.—Eccard. Franc. Orient. i. 440. "Forsachistu Diabolæ? R. Ec forsacho Diabolæ. End allum Diabold gelde? R. End ec forsacho allum Diabold gelde. End allum Diaboles Wercum end Wordum? R. End ec forsacho allum Diaboles Wercum end Wordum. Thunaer ende Woden end Sarnote; ende allem them Unholdum, the hera Genotes sint?"—G. Ch. Dan. et Norw. p. 268.

^k Anschar was born Sept. 8, 801.

rich attire, surrounded by females in white apparel; among them his mother. He strove to reach her, but the mire clung round his feet, and he could not struggle onward. The soft voice of the majestic lady, the Virgin herself, addressed him, "My son, wouldst thou join thy mother?" He replied, "Most earnestly do I wish it."

"He who would come to us must flee those vanities which we abhor." From that moment the

Æt. 13.

serious child, abandoning all sport and gaiety, was devoted to prayer and study. Up to adolescence he was educated in monastic discipline, but the ardour of youth had begun to relax his strict austerity. At that time the world was startled by the tidings of Charlemagne's death. That the mighty monarch of so many kingdoms must suffer the common mortality of man, struck the imaginative youth. His life became, as it were, one vision. Once he thought that he had died suddenly; and at the moment of his death he prayed to the apostle St. Peter and to St. John the Baptist, who appeared instantly before him.^m He was conducted by his saintly guides to Purgatory, where he passed three days in darkness, and almost suffocation; those days appeared a thousand years. He passed on to heaven, whose inhabitants and their glory he was permitted to behold; and a voice of the most exquisite sweetness, but so clear that it seemed to fill the world, spoke to him out of the unapproachable light, "Go,

^m As Anschar knew them at once, it must be supposed that the saints appeared as usually represented in works of art at that time. St. Peter was the older, with a hoary head, the hair flat and bushy; a ruddy complexion, but rather a sad countenance; his dress white, but mingled with

colours (*candidâ et coloratâ*); his stature short. The Baptist was young, tall, with a sprouting beard; the hair rather dark and curling; the face emaciated, but the countenance pleasant. He wore a *silken dress*. "Those who wear silk dresses are in kings' chambers!"

and return hither, crowned with martyrdom." ^a On this triumphant end, which he gained at last, not by the sword, but by the slow mortification of his life, was thenceforth set the soul of Anschar.

His thoughts had no doubt been already turned towards the conversion of the heathen by his residence in a monastic outpost of Christendom, founded by the zeal of the Corbey monks in a beautiful valley on the west bank of the Weser, east of Paderborn, and called New Corbey.^o In this convent he had been appointed to preach to the people, and doubtless prepared himself for his future successes. Æt. 16, 23.

When the demand was made at the court of Louis the Pious, among the assembled prelates and nobles, who could be found fit and willing to attend the Christian Harold into his Pagan country, and to risk his life for the propagation of the faith, all were silent, until Wala, the abbot of Corbey, bethought him of Anschar. The monk was summoned, and calmly but resolutely undertook the mission. The abbot inquired whether he acted but in obedience to his superior, or from his own free will. He modestly persisted in his determination, unshaken by the persuasion of those who loved him, and the reproof of others, who, unable to aspire to the sublimity of his faith, were jealous of his superiority.

A brother of the convent, named Authbert, though of noble birth, was so kindled by the zeal of Anschar, that he resolved to accompany him. Anschar spent two years in Denmark, but over his difficulties and his

^a The biographer relates this fine vision, as he says, in the words of Anschar himself.—Vit. S. Anscharii apud Pertz, vol. ii. p. 692.

^o It was near the modern Hörter, in Westphalia. It is described by Paschasius Radbertus in his life of Adalhard —Pertz, ii. p. 531.

successes the biographer passes with unsatisfactory rapidity. He formed a school of twelve children. At the end of the two years his companion retired, in the extremity of sickness, to New Corbey, and died.

But whatever the success of Anschar in Denmark, the more remote regions of the North suddenly opened on the zealous missionary. An embassy from Sweden announced that many of that nation were prepared to accept Christianity. Anschar did not hesitate at once to proceed to this more distant and unknown scene of labour. As he crossed the Sound, his ship was attacked by pirates; he escaped with difficulty to the shore, losing all he possessed, especially the precious treasure of forty books. On his arrival in Sweden, the reigning king allowed him full liberty to preach the Gospel. There were many Christian captives in the land, who gladly welcomed a priest who could administer the sacred mysteries of the faith. Anschar, after some time, returned to France; and Gauzbert, a Frankish monk, was sent as Bishop to Sweden.

In the mean time the archbishopric of Hamburg had been founded. Anschar was raised to the see, A.D. 832. and invested with metropolitan power over all the northern missions. But the Northmen had as yet learned no respect for Christianity. They A.D. 837. surprised Hamburg. Anschar hardly escaped, bearing away nothing but the reliques of the saints; everything else, even his library, was burned to ashes.

The prospects of Christianity in Sweden were suddenly darkened. The king had favoured the preachers of the Gospel; the people were still obdurately wedded to their idolatry. An insurrection broke out; one Christian teacher suffered death; the Bishop was seized and expelled from the kingdom, For seven years

Paganism triumphed without disturbance. Anschar in the mean time had been reinstated in the archiepiscopate, now formed by the union of Hamburg with Bremen. More hopeful intelligence came from Sweden; it was rumoured that all who had been concerned in the insurrection had, in some awful manner, been marked for untimely death: the possessor of a book, which had been taken during the pillage by his son, was more signally visited by the Divine wrath. But either from prudence or timidity, the Bishop Gauzbert represented himself as personally so obnoxious to the hatred of the people, that his presence could but excite more bitter hostility. Anschar did not hesitate to obey the call; and in the account of this mission appear some curious incidents, characteristic of the versatile Paganism of the country. "If," it was said, "you want a new God, there is your late king, Eric, in whose honour we have lately built a temple." But Anschar, however strongly dissuaded, determined again to try his influence on the Christians' old protector, the king. He invited him to a feast, made him presents; but the king, become more cautious or more timid, declared that on so great a question he would consult his people and his gods. True to his word, he first held a private council of his nobles, where it was agreed to consult the gods by lots. The lot was favourable to the acceptance of Christianity; the whole people were then assembled in their parliament; and the herald publicly proclaimed the object of their meeting, the admission or rejection of Christianity. The people were of conflicting opinions. A tumult had almost begun, when an aged man arose, and declared that the God of the Christians had been singularly powerful and propitious, in saving him and others from the perils of the sea, and from pirates. "It

would be much wiser, since our own gods are not always so favourable, to have this God also, who is so mighty, and so ready a Protector." ^P This prudent advice carried with it the whole assembly. Christianity was admitted by general consent as a religion permitted by the nation. Churches might be built, and priests allowed to celebrate the mysteries of the faith. On the death of the king some opposition was at first threatened by his son. His hostility died away; the Christians were even allowed to set up a bell, which seems to have been peculiarly detested by the Swedish pagans. Once having obtained a footing, Christianity wrought slowly on till it had achieved the final conversion of the kingdom. But it was not till above a century and a half later, that—under the reign of Canute the Great over the united Christian kingdoms of England and Denmark—were sent over to Denmark English priests and bishops, for the final conversion of his whole continental realm. Canute himself bore as it were the homage of his two Teutonic kingdoms to the feet of the Pontiff of Latin Christianity.¹ The tenth century saw the first dawn of Christianity in Norway.

^P "Nobis enim quando nostros propitios habere non possumus Deos, bonum est hujus Dei gratiam habere, qui semper in omnibus potest et vult ad se clamantibus auxiliari."—c. xxvii. p. 713.

¹ S. Anschar died A.D. 865. Canute, king from 1014 to 1055. Canute visited Rome A.D. 1026 or 1027.

CHAPTER X.

Alfred.

THE Christianity of the age, by this aggrandisement of the sacerdotal order, and by the civil wars among the descendants of Charlemagne, seemed to deliver France, and parts of Germany, almost defenceless into the hands of the Pagan Barbarians. A Christian King rescued one part of Europe, which was in still greater danger, from total subjugation to the heathen Northmen.

Our English Alfred * approaches, as near as possible, considering his age, to that lofty model, a Alfred. Christian Sovereign. Some irregularities in his early youth were supposed to be chastised by a severe and inexplicable malady, which seized him at the time of his marriage, and afflicted him during twenty years of his life with excruciating suffering. Even his serene temper was exasperated, in the course of the terrific warfare with the Danes, to some acts of more than necessary cruelty and revenge.

The mind of Alfred was deeply impregnated with true Christian faith. As a child he had been twice taken to Rome, but too early, probably, for the majestic sanctity of the holy city to make much impression: yet no doubt, some vague feeling of reverence must have been left upon his mind by his solemn anointing, as King of Demetia, by the Pope himself. In his youth

* Alfred was born 849; in Rome, 853 and 855; died, 901.

ne was singularly devout ; rose, before the cock crew, for the religious services ; and in all the dangers, the troubles, the perpetual wars, the absorbing cares of government, he never intermitted the daily mass, or any of the prayers or ceremonies of the Church.

The heroism of Alfred's resistance to the Danes was not only that of a patriotic sovereign, enduring every extremity in defence of his country against a foreign foe, but that of a Christian offering an inflexible resistance to Pagans and Barbarians. Religious hope, religious reliance on God, animated him in battle ; religious resignation to the divine will sustained him in the depths of adversity. His war against the Danes was a crusade, with all which demands generous sympathy and admiration—nothing which shocks the purer Christian feeling.

Alfred alone rescued England from a total return to Paganism and barbarity ; and delayed the Danish conquest till the Northmen had been at least partially conquered, and in some degree softened by Christianity. So nearly was this retrogressive movement achieved ; so nearly was the whole island in the possession of these desolating invaders ; that the Danes were at once on every coast, and in almost every part of the centre of the island : they are at once burning Lindisfarn, and fighting a great battle in Devonshire. At one time they have possession of Canterbury, Rochester, and London ; at other times of Winchester, Exeter, York, Nottingham, Reading, Chippenham in Wiltshire, Cambridge.^b Their numbers were so magnified by the terrors of the people, that if 30,000 are reported as killed in one day,

^b See in Depping the plunder of Croyland, Medhamstead, Ely, and Coldingham, p. 141 ; Asser, p. 29.

they are said to be succeeded the next by double the number. The churches and the monasteries were the chief objects of Danish enmity and spoliation, no doubt, as in France, from their wealth and defencelessness; they were the only places which offered rich and easy booty. Even the religious enthusiasm of the people was cowed, and almost extinct under these incessant persecutions. Its most popular and prevailing impulse, that which, in other countries, had seemed only to grow stronger in times of public calamity, the eagerness for a monastic life, had died away. When Alfred wished to found two monasteries, one for men at Athelney, one for females at Shaftesbury, he found not a single free or noble person disposed to be a monk or nun.^c He was obliged to assemble them from all orders and all parts—some from beyond the sea, especially from France—there was one Pagan, Asser significantly says, “not the last.”

Alfred felt no security until he had compelled his enemies to Christianity; this was the one end and assurance of victory. The first fruits of his great triumph at Eddington was the baptism of Guthrun, with thirty of his chieftains.^d This was the only guarantee for their faith—a precarious guarantee. This alone changed them from fierce and roving marauders to settled inhabitants of the land.

Alfred is no less memorable as preserving the close connexion between Christianity and civilisation. It is difficult to understand how, after the long and total devastation of the kingdom by the Danes, Alfred could

^c Asser, p. 61. “Nimirum, quia per multa retroacta annorum curricula monasticæ vitæ desiderium ab illâ totâ gente, necnon et a multis aliis gentibus funditus interierat.” Asser. among his reasons, gives one we should scarcely have expected—the *wealth* of the nation.

^d Page 35.

erect the buildings, pile up the castles, build the fleets, endow the churches and monasteries, if not schools, and send out the embassies, which might seem to demand more flourishing finances. He divided, it is said, his whole revenue into two parts; one devoted to secular, the other to religious purposes.* The latter was subdivided into four; one assigned to the poor, one to his monasteries of Athelney and Shaftesbury, one to the school which he had founded for his nobles, one for the monasteries of the rest of the kingdom, with occasional gifts to foreign religious houses.

Up to twelve years of age, Alfred, the favourite of his parents, and the best hunter in the Court, was ignorant of letters. His mother offered a richly-embellished volume of Saxon poetry to that one of her children who would learn to read it. Alfred, by divine inspiration (writes his biographer), and attracted by the beauty of the capital letters, immediately set about the task and won the prize. The love of letters was thus stamped upon his heart: he constantly carried in his bosom a book of psalms and prayers, which he read himself—a rare accomplishment, almost unrivalled in the whole kingdom of the West Saxons. His youthful prize may have suggested, or urged on him more strongly, the great work of Alfred, his powerful encouragement of the native Saxon literature, the identification of Christianity with the manners, language, poetry, not of a half Roman, but purely Teutonic race. Alfred delighted in

* Asser relates that when the king gave him the two monasteries of Amesbury and Banwell, he presented him with a silken pallium of great value, and as much incense as a strong man could carry! This must have been a most costly gift!—P. 50. Can we suppose that the Danes having plundered all the religious houses, there was great store of this, to them, useless commodity among the booty which Alfred recovered and could not restore to its lawful owners?

all the old Saxon poems; he collected and caused to be recited Saxon books; and so, instead of being the religion of a learned priesthood, the Anglo-Saxon Christianity was familiarised and endeared to the people: it was a popular national faith. The knowledge of Latin, Alfred thought, would rather be promoted than discouraged by the translation of books into the vulgar tongue. It was a work of love in which he laboured himself, not only from delight, but from want of assistants. In the whole land south of the Trent, there were few priests who could translate Latin into English; south of the Thames, at his accession, not one. What is more extraordinary, it was a religion which went back to the pure and primal sources of the faith—the sacred Scriptures. The poetry, the tradition of which Alfred continued from the monk Cædmon, was not a poetry exclusively of legend, of the lives and wonders of the Saints, but of the Sacred History thrown into the language and metre of Saxon poetry. It had its popular saints with their metrical lives;⁴ but its greatest poets had still reverted to the higher source of inspiration. Alfred, indeed, had not the high poetic gift of the older Cædmon. His works are those of the laborious man of learning, communicating the traditionary treasures of knowledge, which remained from the older civilisation, to his Saxon subjects. King Alfred gave to Saxon England the Ecclesiastical History of Bede; the epitome of Augustine's great work by Orosius. He gave them the Consolation of Boëthius, and the Pastoral of St. Gregory. He summoned from all quarters men of

⁴ *Præfatio ad Greg. Past.*, in Wise's Alfred, p. 87. | volume from the Exeter Code, has a long poetical life of St. Guthlak,

⁵ See, on the poetry of Cædmon, | another of St. Juliana, above. Mr. Thorpe, in his curious

learning. Asser came from St. David's, John of Saxony from the Abbey of Corbey; Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims sent Grimbold, Provost of St. Omer. The University of Oxford boasts, but on very doubtful authority, to owe her foundation to Alfred the Great.^a

^a *Compos Linguarum*, i, p. 179.

CHAPTER XI.

The Hungarians. Degradation of the Papacy.

IN the tenth century the few reflecting minds might not without reason apprehend the approaching ^{Tenth cen-} dissolution of the world. A vast anarchy ^{tury.} seemed to spread over Western Christendom. It is perhaps the darkest period in the history of every country in Europe. The Pagan Magyars, more terrible even than the Islamite Saracens, and the Pagan ^{The Hun-} Northmen, now burst upon Europe. The ^{garians.} Arabs, who had swarmed from their deserts, wild marauders, had long become disciplined armies : Islam had become a mighty empire. The Caliphate maintained the show at least of ascendancy over the Sultanies of Africa and of Spain. Arabic was the language of whole regions, almost of continents. The Northmen, fierce pirates as they were, were of origin kindred to the Teutonic conquerors of France. Both Saracens and Northmen acknowledged some rude laws of war. But the Magyars, or Hungarians, seemed as hordes of savages or of wild beasts let loose upon mankind.^a They burst unexpectedly upon Christendom in swarms of which the source seemed unknown and inexhaustible. Indiscriminate massacre seemed their only war law ; they were bound by no treaties, respected no boundaries. Civilisation, Christianity, withered before

^a Gibbon, ch. lv. vol. x. pp. 193-209.

their hosts, who were magnified by panic into misshapen monsters, and cannibals who fed on human flesh. Their language, of the Finnish stock, was akin to no known tongue. In those days of disorder and anarchy in Christendom, it is almost incredible that a single race, even if it swept with them many of the tribes who lay on the borders of civilisation, Slavians and Bulgarians, could have so completely covered Europe, as to range over the whole of Germany; burn nearly at the same time Bremen on the Baltic, and the monastery of St. Gall, near the lake of Constance; overrun Southern France, and menace the kingdoms beyond the Pyrenees. They rushed down the Alps, Italy lay open before them. Splendid Pavia, with its forty-three churches, was in ashes. Everywhere the walls of the cities were hastily repaired. Special litanies resounded in all the churches of Italy which escaped their ravages for protection against the Hungarians. Rome beheld at no great distance the flame of their devastation; they spread to the very extremity of the peninsula.^b The Hungarians for half a century were the common terror of Christendom, from their first irruption about A.D. 884 to A.D. 936, the date of the first great victory of Henry the Fowler. Gradually the Magyars settled down within the limits of modern Hungary. At the beginning of the next century Christianity had entirely subdued them, and with a kind of prophetic wisdom had

^b The Chronic. Wurz. sub ann. 938, sums up their ravages: "Ungarii Franciam, Alemanniam, Galliam usque Oceanum, et Burgundiam devastantes per Italiam redierunt, monasteria S. Galli et S. Bonifacii cremantur." The chronicles of almost every monastery—and a great number of monasteries in

all quarters had their chronicle—record the losses, ruin, and desolation inflicted by these terrible strangers.—Apud Pertz, ii. p. 241, &c. Compare Liutprand, lib. ii. in init. One of Muratori's dissertations describes their ravages in Italy.

arrayed this valiant nation as a future outguard against the Mohammedan Turks; their King Stephen was a Saint.

Cast a rapid glance over Christendom during these disastrous invasions of Saracens, Normans, Hungarians.

In England, though the wise institutions of Alfred, and now and then a king, like Athelstan, of more commanding character, maintained some social order, almost the whole period was an uninterrupted war with the Danes. The Church was distracted by the implacable contests between the secular and regular clergy. In France the Carlovingian race was expiring almost in the same state of imbecility and powerlessness as the Merovingians whom they supplanted. Towards the close of this period the new race of the Capets rose to the throne, the first purely French dynasty. The Normans were now in settled possession of a great province in the kingdom.

The Empire alone displayed occasional vigour, rather from the commanding character of Henry the Fowler, the first conqueror of the Magyars, of Otho the Great and his descendants, than from the Imperial power itself. The legitimate descent from Charlemagne had expired in Louis III., the illegitimate in Arnulf. The imperial crown had passed from Italy, and back to Germany. It had become an Elective Sovereignty, as yet with no established rule or form of election, and had been for a short time absolutely suspended: it resumed its greatness under the House of Saxony.

But the deepest abasement, or rather almost annihilation, had already fallen on the Papacy. Italy, which for a time pretended to the Empire, without a native prince of sufficient power or dignity to

maintain its influence, constantly summoning new sovereigns from beyond the Alps to assume that perilous honour, until the right of election was resumed by Germany, was one battle-field of small contending princes, each endeavouring to form or to aggrandise an hereditary principality. The terror of the Hungarians increased at once the confusion, and, by compelling the more strong and artificial fortification of the cities, tended to their more complete isolation. Each city became an independent government; each chieftain aspired to be a sovereign. This anarchy of Italy led to the degradation of the Papacy, the degradation of the Papacy increased the anarchy of Italy. So insignificant is the Pope become, that it is almost as difficult to trace now for a long period, as afterwards at the close of the century, the regular succession. The Pope steals unnoticed into his dignity, and departs from it as unregarded; or rather is suddenly thrust into the throne by some act of violence, and as suddenly dispossessed by means as violent.

To none in the Christian world seems to have occurred the extraordinary anomaly, the election of a spiritual monarch for Christendom (for so he was esteemed in the West) by a body neither in character nor in general esteem representing the community. A single city aspired to nominate the universal Bishop; but that city was Rome; and Europe was resolutely ignorant what strange accidents, caprices, crimes, intrigues, even assassinations determined the rise and fall of the Supreme Pontiff. It is a memorable instance of the vital power of names, that the Christian world so long assented, without protest, apparently without consciousness of wrong, to the pretensions not only of the clergy but of the nobles and people of Rome, and what-

Undetermined form
of election.

ever soldiery, either Roman or foreign, might command the city, to be the electors of the spiritual autocrat. The assent of the Emperor, at first of the East through the Exarch of Ravenna, afterwards of Charlemagne and his descendants (in theory at least esteemed necessary for the consecration of the Supreme Pontiff), had given to the world, or rather to Latin Christendom, some control over, at least some concurrence in, the election. But the Empire itself was now in abeyance. Italy now asserted her independence, forming a separate political system, with an elective king, and a number of dukes, counts, and princes, who recognised only when forcibly compelled, the supreme authority. At this inauspicious time the absolute election of the Pope reverted to this ill-organised democracy, or, as it were, to these conflicting democracies. Whoever now obtained the mastery of Rome by any means of violence, intrigue, or faction, the neighbouring prince, the demagogue, the rude soldier, or the daring woman, nominated the head of Christendom. The Pope was himself one of those violent or licentious men, or an insignificant personage only performing the religious functions of his office, and holding his office, even his life, at the will of this shifting but perpetual tyranny.

On the other hand, the authority of the Pope, if not in the nomination—in the coronation of the Emperor—if it entangled him too inextricably in secular affairs, had given great dignity to his position. This continued so long as the Empire passed in a direct line down the descendants of Charlemagne. But even already, as soon as the claim had come to be contested, the Pope, with not power enough to be the arbiter, sank into the partisan of one of the contending factions. Rome, become the centre of this strife, added to her own con-

flicting parties, that of rival Kings struggling for the Empire. Already the Pope had to choose Election of Emperor. between the dynasties of France and Germany or Italy. Each interest maintained its hired or devoted partisans in Rome, either thwarting or urging the Pope to hostile measures against its adversaries; at the time of each election to the Popedom exciting or maddening the contest. The Papal throne, even before it had assumed the power of awarding thrones and dictating to mankind, had been an object of fierce, or at times of sanguinary strife; and all these foreign and political influences exasperated the wild collision of personal conflict. While all around were lawless chieftains, ready to interfere with or without cause, to espouse any interest, and to aggrandise or enrich themselves at the expense of the metropolis of Christendom.

This iron age, as it has been called, opened with the Pontificate of Benedict IV.,^c the successor of John IX. The only act recorded of Benedict IV. was the coronation^d of the unfortunate Louis of Provence, A.D. 901. the competitor of Berengar for the empire. Louis, according to Imperial usage, set up his tribunal, and adjudged causes at Rome.

On the death of Benedict, the prudent precautions established by John IX., to introduce some regularity and control over the anarchy of an election by a clergy rent into factions, by a lawless nobility, and still more lawless people, during this utter helplessness and the abeyance, or the strife for the empire between rival princes, fell into utter neglect, or impotency. The Papacy became the prize of the most active, daring, and violent. Leo V. won the prize; before two months he

^c July, A.D. 900; died, 903, Aug.

^d 901, Feb. Boenmer, Regesta.

was ejected and thrown into prison^e by Christopher, one of his own presbyters and chaplains. The same year, or early in the next, Christopher was in his turn ignominiously driven from Rome.

A.D. 903.

Sergius had already once, if not twice, at the accession of John IX.,^f or at that of Formosus, or at both periods, contested the Papal chair. On his discomfiture he had taken refuge at the Court of the powerful counts of Tuscany; and there sat watching, with a band of devoted partisans, the rapid revolutions in Rome.

This great marquisate, or county of Tuscany, which for a long period exercised so vast an influence for evil or for good, had gradually risen to its enormous power and wealth: power which for many years ruled Rome and the Papacy; wealth which at length, through the munificence of the celebrated Countess Matilda, its descendant through another line, was hereafter to be the strength and support of the Popes in the days of their most exorbitant authority.

The descent of these hereditary Counts of Lucca, and Marquises or Dukes of Tuscany, is clearly traced from Boniface, who held that rank during the later years of Charlemagne. Adalbert was the grandson of Boniface, through a father of the same name. Adalbert had been among those powerful princes, whose claims to beneficiary rights had excited the jealous resentment of the Emperor Louis the Pious. He had been imprisoned, and though soon released, had sworn to avenge the indignity on the first opportunity. Adalbert II., the son of Adalbert I., was so surpassingly wealthy (and wealth in those times was power) that he was called the

^{ee} *Emigrat ante suum quam luna bis impleat orbem.*—*Flodoard de Pontif. Rom. apud Mabillon, Acta S. S. Benedict.*

^f *"Culmen apostolicæ sedis is jure paterno Electus tenuit, ut Theodorus obiit Joannes subit."*
Epitaph in Pagi, sub ann 910

Rich. His influence, as well as his ambition, was increased by his marriage with Bertha, daughter of the King Lothair, by his wife or concubine, Waldrada, and widow of the King of Provence. This haughty woman

was mother, by her first husband, of Hugh of
A.D. 900.

Provence, afterwards King of Italy and Emperor. The counsels of his imperious wife led Adalbert into a premature rebellion against Lambert, then Emperor, and King of Italy. The Tuscan was defeated ignominiously, and thrown into prison. He had been taken in a stable.⁸ Lambert insulted him by saying, "Your haughty wife Bertha prophesied that you would be a king or an ass; lo, you are found like an ass in the stalls among the cattle!" The death of Lambert, by accident or assassination, released Adalbert from his captivity, and restored him to his power. From this time the fate of Italy seemed to depend upon his will. The fickle Italians, weary of the rule of Berengar, who on the death of Lambert had become undisputed pos-

essor of the empire, invited Louis of Provence,
A.D. 900.

the son of Count Boso, and of Ermengard, daughter of the Emperor Louis of Germany, to assume the throne of Italy and the empire. Adalbert at first maintained the cause of Berengar (his fidelity was secured by ample gifts), and Louis was obliged to retreat beyond the Alps. But the ambitious Bertha alienated the mind of her husband from Berengar.^h Adalbert joined in a second invitation to Louis. Berengar, when he found the Tuscans among his enemies, shut himself up in Verona, which he was obliged to surrender to the victorious Louis. The new Emperor and

⁸ Liutprand, ii. 38.

^h "Bellua Tyrrhenis fundens fera sibilis ab oris
Solicitat Rhodani gentem."—*Panegyric, Berengar, iv.*

King of Italy was crowned in Rome.¹ On his return he visited Lucca, where the indiscreet Emperor beheld with astonishment, alarm, and envy, the state, and the formidable and well-appointed forces of Adalbert. He dropped the incautious expression, "This is no marquis, but a king." From that moment the throne of Louis was lost. Bertha organised an extensive revolt of the Italian provinces. Louis allowed himself to be surprised in Verona by Berengar, who revenged himself by putting out the eyes of his rival.

A.D. 906.

It was under the protection of this powerful Tuscan that the exiled Sergius, at the head of a strong force of Tuscan soldiers, appeared in Rome, deposed Christopher,^k who had just deposed Leo V., and took possession of the Papal throne.

Sergius had been seven years an exile in Tuscany; for seven years he ruled as supreme, but not undisputed, Pontiff.^m This Pope has been loaded with every vice and every enormity which can blacken the character of man. Yet as to his reign there is almost total obscurity. The only certain act which has transpired is his restoration of the Lateran palace, which had fallen into ruins; an act which indicates a period of comparative peace and orderly administration, with the command of a large revenue.ⁿ In these violent times Sergius probably

¹ 901. I follow Muratori's course of events.

^k Christopher, consecrated Oct. 903; deposed, and becomes a monk, Jan. 904.

^m "Sergius inde redit, dudum, qui lectus ad arcem
Culminis, exsilio tulerat rapiente re-
pulsam,
Quo profugus latuit Septem volven-
tibus annis.

Hinc populi remeans precibus sacratur
honore
Pridem adsignato, quo nomine Tertius
exit
Antistes, Petri eximii quo sede re-
cepto
Præsule gaudet ovans annis Septem
amplius orbis."

Flodoard de Rom. Pontif

ⁿ Mabillon, in Appendic. ad Ord.
Roman. Muratori, sub ann. 907. Com-
pare Gregorovius, Stadt. Rom. iii. 269.

scrupled at no violence ; but if he drove a Pope from the throne of St. Peter, that Pope had just before deposed his patron, and with great cruelty.^o

But during the Papacy of Sergius rose into power the infamous Theodora, with her daughters Marozia and Theodora, the prostitutes who, in the strong language of historians, disposed for many years of the Papal tiara, and not content with disgracing by their own licentious lives the chief city of Christendom, actually placed their profligate paramours or base-born sons in the chair of St. Peter. The influence obtained by Theodora and her daughters, if it shows not the criminal connivance of Pope Sergius, or a still more disgraceful connexion with which he was charged by the scandal of the times, proves at least the utter degradation of the Papal power in Rome. It had not only lost all commanding authority, but could not even maintain outward decency. Theodora was born of a noble and wealthy senatorial family, on whom she has entailed an infamous immortality. The women of Rome seem at successive periods seized with a kind of Roman ambition to surpass their sex by the greatness of their virtues and of their vices. These females were to the Paulas and Eustochiums of the younger and severer age of Roman Christianity, what the Julias and Messalinas of the Empire were to the Volumnias and Cornelias of the Republic.^p

* See also the epitaph on Sergius apud Muratori, A.D. 911. Yet even Sergius is regulating the affairs and granting the pallium to an archbishop of Hamburg.—Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 808.

► The devout indignation of Baronius, as to these times, arose no doubt in great part from the severe but honest asceticism of his character, and his horror at this violation of his high

notions of sacerdotal sanctity by what appeared to him far more unseemly and unpardonable criminality than arrogance, avarice, or cruelty. His fears, too, lest he should be accused of an immoral partiality by the slightest extenuation, or even by a dispassionate examination of such vices, has led him to exaggerate rather than soften the monstrous enormities of those times

It must be acknowledged, that if the stern language of Tacitus and Juvenal may have darkened the vices of the queens and daughters of the Cæsars, the Bishop of Cremona, our chief authority on the enormities of Theodora and her daughters, wants the moral dignity, while he is liable to the same suspicion as those great writers. Throughout the lives of the Pontiffs themselves we have to balance between the malignant licence of satire and the unmeaning phrases of adulatory panegyric.^a On the other hand it is difficult to decide which is more utterly unchristian: the profound hatred which could invent or accredit such stories; the utter dissoluteness which made them easily believed; or the actual truth of such charges.

Liutprand relates that John, afterwards the tenth Pope of that name, being employed in Rome on some ecclesiastical matters by the Arch-Theodora. bishop of Ravenna, was the paramour of Theodora,^r who not merely allowed, but compelled him to her embraces. John was first appointed to the see of Bologna; John X. but the archbishopric of Ravenna, the second ecclesiastical dignity in Italy, falling vacant before he

And the happy thought, happy in a thoroughgoing controversialist, that the deeper the degradation of the Papacy, the more wonderful, and therefore the more manifestly of God, its restoration to power, removed every remaining repugnance to his abandonment of all the popes during the tenth century to historical infamy. The passage is too well known and too long for citation. Muratori, who had some new authorities, is more temperate, especially as to the character of Sergius.

^a Liutprand is the chief, the only authority on which Baronius rests.

Muratori inclines to the Panegyrist of Berengarius, who gives a high character of John X., and to Flodoard; but the poet's language consists merely of the common phrases applied to all popes, who are, according to some writers, ex officio endowed with certain virtues: and Pope John had just acknowledged the title, and entered into close alliance with the object of the poet's panegyric.

^r "Theodora, . . . quod dictum etiam foedissimum est, Romanæ civitatis non invirilliter monarchiam obtinebat."—Liutprand.

had been consecrated, he was advanced by the same dominant influence to that see.^a But Theodora bore with impatience the separation of two hundred miles from her lover. Anastasius III. had succeeded Sergius, and occupied the Papacy for rather more than two years; after him Lando for six months. On the death of Lando, by a more flagrant violation of the canonical rule than that charged against the dead body of Formosus, John was translated from the archiepiscopate of Ravenna to the see of Rome. But Theodora, if she indeed possessed this dictatorial power, and the clergy and people of Rome, if they yielded to her dictation, may have been actuated by nobler and better motives than her gratification of a lustful passion, if not by motives purely Christian. For however the Archbishop of Ravenna might be no example of piety or holiness as the spiritual head of Christendom, he appears to have been highly qualified for the secular part of his office. He was a man of ability and daring, eminently wanting at this juncture to save Rome from becoming the prey of Mohammedan conquest. The Saracens occupied a strong fortress on the Garigliano,^c

^a Muratori has suggested a most serious objection to the story of Liutprand. That author says that the translation of John from Ravenna to Rome took place "modicâ temporis interapedine," after his appointment to Ravenna. There is strong evidence for supposing John to have been Archbishop of Ravenna from 905 to 914, a long period for such a passion as Theodora's to endure delay. Are we to suppose that, though Archbishop of Ravenna, he resided at Rome? "Joannes Archiepiscopus Ravennatis ecclesiæ, incitatus a primatibus Romanæ urbis,

contra instituta canonum, agens, Romanæ ecclesiæ invasor factus."—Chronic. S. Benedict. apud Pertz. Compare Chron. Mon. Cass. apud Pertz, Liutprand. "Theodoræ autem glycerii mens perversa, Ravennatem hunc præsulatum coegit deserere, Romanumque, pro nefas! summum pontificium usurpare."—c. 48.

^c The poet calls this fortress the "vicina Charybdæ," which swallowed up all the wealth of Rome.—De Laudib. Berengar. Compare, on the plunder of the wealthy abbeys of Farfa and Subiaco, Gregorovius, l. 284.

which, while it secured their own southern conquests, constantly threatened the dukedoms beyond their border. The whole domain or territory of St. Peter lay at their mercy. They commanded, and could interrupt almost all communication with the South of Italy. The pilgrims could not reach the shrines of the apostles without being plundered, maltreated, often made prisoners, and obliged to ransom themselves at enormous prices.

The Pontiff placed himself at the head of a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring dukes, who were either awed or persuaded into a league for mutual defence: it comprehended Landulf, the Duke of Benevento and Capua, the Dukes of Spoleto and Camerina. But a stronger effort was necessary. It was determined to demand the aid of the two Emperors, those of the West and of the East, in the common cause of Christendom.

Constantine, the Emperor of the East, promised naval succours. Berengar was now undisputed Emperor of the West; he accepted

March 24, 916.
Coronation of
the Emperor
Berengar.

the invitation, and went in person to Rome. His poetical panegyrist has left a glowing description of his power, and the magnificence of his reception. He was met by the Senate with their banners, which represented the heads of wild beasts. They sang his praises in their Latin or Italian tongue. The Senate was followed by the schools of strangers, the Greek among the rest, who each paid their homage to the Emperor in their native dialect. The nobles were represented by Peter, the brother of the Pope, and the son of Theophylact, called by the poet the Consul of Rome. The Popes were accustomed to receive the Emperors standing on the top of the steps leading up to St. Peter's. Latterly they had assumed the more dignified attitude of remain-

ing seated. The Emperor rode the Pope's white horse, according to usage." He ascended the steps, was received and saluted by the Pope with a kiss. After the Emperor had sworn to maintain the privileges and possessions of the Church, they entered the church hand in hand, the Pope chanting the service. The Emperor knelt and worshipped at the tomb of St. Peter, and was afterwards received at a splendid banquet by the Pope.

A.D. 916.

The coronation and anointing took place the day after Easter-day. The donations of Pepin and Charlemagne were read, with all the domains granted to the successor of St. Peter, as a warning lest any robber should presume to usurp those sacred lands.* But the Pope was not content with his legitimate influence, in organising this great league for the preservation, if not of Christendom, at least of Rome, from the unbelievers. He placed himself at the head of the army, and for the first time, the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of the Prince of Peace, rode forth in his array to battle. And, if success, as it doubtless was, might be interpreted as a manifestation of Divine approval, the total discomfiture of the Saracens, and the destruction

of the troublesome fortress on the Garigliano, seemed to sanction this new and unseemly character assumed by the Pope. Even the Apostles sanctioned or secured by their presence the triumph of the warlike Pope.†

* "Erectus Pastoris equo, mox quippe sacerdos
Ipse futurus erat, titulo res digna
perenni."

See the note of Valesius. There seems to have been some symbolical meaning which is far from clear. Does it imply that the Emperor, by being anointed, assumed a sacerdotal character?

† "Lectitæ Augusti concessos munere
pagos,
Præsulis obsequio gradibus stans
lector in altis,
Cæsare quo norint omnes data mu-
nera, prædo
Ulterius paveat sacras sibi sumere
terras."

† "A religiosis fidelibus visi sunt in
eodem bello sanctissimi Petrus et

For fourteen years, obscure as regards Rome and the Pontificate, this powerful prelate occupied the See of Rome. If he gained it (a doubtful charge) ^{A.D. 914-928.} by the vices and influence of the mother, Theodora, he lost it, together with his life, by the no less flagrant vices and more monstrous power, of the daughter, Marozia.

Theodora disappears; and Pope John X. is found engaged in a fierce contest for the mastery of Rome with Marozia and her lover or husband, the Marquis Alberic,² by whom she had a son of ^{Marozia.} the same name, afterwards tyrant of the city. The vigorous and martial Pontiff succeeds in expelling Alberic from the city; Alberic probably met his death ^{A.D. 925.} soon after. It is said that he was murdered by the Romans in revenge for some secret alliance entered into with the Hungarians, who were then wasting Italy, and had reached the very³ frontiers of Calabria.

The death of her husband increased rather than weakened the power of Marozia. Her personal charms, and her unscrupulous use of them, are said to have multiplied to an infinite extent her adherents. Her paramours made a strong party. The Empire was vacant. There was no potentate to whom the Pope could appeal. Marozia seized the Castle of St. Angelo, and with this precious dowry, which commanded Rome, she sought to confirm her power by some splendid alliance. Guido, the Duke of Tuscany, the son of Adalbert the Marquis,

Paulus apostoli."—Liutprand, c. 54. On this war compare Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ii. 176, &c.

² Muratori has clearly proved the mistake, or perhaps false reading, in Liutprand, followed by Baronius and others. The lover of Marozia was not

and could not be Adalbert the Rich, the Duke of Tuscany, the husband of the imperious Bertha, and the protector of Sergius. Adalbert does not seem to have been at Rome. The lover of Marozia was Alberic, Marquis (Marchio) perhaps of Camerina.

did not disdain the nuptials with a profligate woman, who brought Rome as her marriage portion.

During the rapid and bloody revolutions of the few last years in Italy, this house of Tuscany had maintained its greatness. Soon after the death of Adalbert the Rich, the widow Bertha, and Guido her son, plunged into their quarrel with the Emperor Berengar, then at the height of his power; they had been imprisoned, but speedily obtained their release, and recovered all their wealth and power. Bertha had extended her influence by the marriage of her daughter, Ermengard, a woman of unprincipled ambition, worthy of her mother, with Adalbert, the Marquis of Ivrea, whose first wife had been a daughter of the Emperor Berengar, and who was the most powerful of the northern princes.

The murder of Berengar (who died unpitied,^a for in his last contest with the new usurper of the empire,

A.D. 922.

Rodolf of Burgundy, he had made a treaty with the terrible Hungarians, now the scourge of the North, as the Saracens were of the South) had made the empire vacant, and threw the whole north of Italy into the utmost confusion. Ermengard, now a widow, and if Liutprand is to be credited, of unscrupulous licence, not with princes only, but even with ignoble men,^b became the object and the promotress of all the intrigues, feuds, and murders, on account of the kingdom of Italy.

The strife ended with the descent into Italy of Hugh of Provence, the son of Bertha by her first husband, and so half brother to Guido of Tuscany. Hugh of Provence, the new competitor for the kingdom of Italy and the Empire, landed at Pisa.

^a Liutprand, c. 61.

^b "Carnale cum non solum principibus, verum etiam ignobilibus, commercium exercebat."—iii. 7.

This crafty Prince fully estimated the influence of the clergy in the politics of Italy. He affected the most profound zeal for religion. He was a man, for his day, of many accomplishments, and sought the society of those whom Liutprand dignifies by the name of philosophers. Liutprand himself, the future historian, ambassador at Constantinople and Bishop of Cremona, was brought up as a page in the court of Hugh of Provence; and though his unbounded licentiousness as to women could not but offend the pious ecclesiastic, the courtly historian touches with great tenderness the other vices, not by any means the lightest, of his royal patron.

The clergy of Italy, flattered by the homage, hailed the landing of Hugh at Pisa as the restoration of an age of peace and piety. Lanthbert, Archbishop of Milan, was his ardent partisan, and hastened to meet him at Pavia. The Pope himself, notwithstanding the connexion of Hugh with the husband of Marozia, hoped, perhaps, with the prize of the Imperial crown, to secure his protection against his domestic tyrants. He went to meet the King at Mantua: a treaty July 19, 926. was entered into, but the conditions are unknown.

The last hopes, however, of foreign protection were vain. John X. was left to contest alone the government of Rome with Marozia and her Tuscan husband. Neither Rome, nor the mistress of Rome, regarded the real services rendered by John X. to Christendom and to Italy. The former lover, as public scandal averred, of her mother, the saviour of Rome from the Saracens, was surprised in the Lateran palace by this daring woman. His brother Peter, as it appears, his great support in the contest for the government of Rome, and therefore the object of peculiar hatred to Guido Death of
John X. and Marozia, was killed before his face. The Pope was

thrown into prison, where some months after he died,

A.D. 928. either of anguish and despair, or by more summary means. It was rumoured that he was smothered

A.D. 929. with a pillow. No means were too violent for Marozia to employ, even against a Pope.*

Marozia did not venture at once to place her son on the Papal throne. A Leo VI. was Pope for

July, 928.

Feb. 929.

March, 931.

some months; a Stephen VII. for two years and one month. That son may as yet have been too

young even for this shameless woman to advance him to the highest ecclesiastical dignity; her husband Guido may have had some lingering respect for the sacred office—some struggling feelings of decency. But at the death of Stephen, Marozia again ruled alone in Rome;

March, 931. her husband Guido was dead, and her son was

Pope. John XI. (according to the rumours of the time, of which Liutprand, a follower of Hugh of Provence, may be accepted as a faithful reporter) was the offspring of Marozia by the Pope Sergius: more trustworthy authorities make him the lawful son of her husband Alberic. But the obsequious clergy and people acquiesced without resistance in the commands of their patrician mistress; the son of Marozia is successor of St. Peter.

But the aspiring Marozia, not content with having been the wife of a Marquis, the wife of the wealthy and powerful Duke of Tuscany; perhaps the mistress of one, certainly the mother of another Pope, looked still higher in her lustful ambition; she must wed a monarch. She sent to offer herself and the city of Rome to the new King of Italy.

* Flodoard, Annal. 929; Liutprand, iii. 43; Annal. Benevent. "Moritur Papa Johannes in castro jugulatus."

Hugh of Provence was not scrupulous in his amours, lawful or unlawful. Through policy or through passion, he was always ready to form or to break these tender connexions. Yet there was an impediment, a canonical impediment, to this marriage, which even Hugh and Marozia dared not despise. Guido, the late husband of Marozia, and Hugh of Provence, were sons of the same mother. Even the Levitical law, which seems to have occurred to some, would not assist them,^d for Marozia had borne children to Guido.^e Hugh struck out a happy expedient, at the same time to get over this difficulty, to be master of Rome, and to enable himself to fulfil the other great object of his ambition, the seizure of the Tuscan Dukedom. Truth, justice, and the interests of her late husband's family, were alike insignificant in the eyes of Marozia. Lambert, a man of courage and character, had succeeded his brother Guido in the dukedom. Hugh of Provence began by disseminating rumours that Bertha had no children by her husband Adalbert; that Guido, Lambert, and Ermengard, were all supposititious, and imposed on the weak Adalbert by his crafty wife as his own. Lambert had adopted that last strange resource, so imposing and convincing in those days, in order to vindicate his father's wisdom, his mother's honour, and his own legitimacy. He offered the wager of battle to any champion appointed by the King of Italy. A brave and youthful warrior was chosen. Lambert came off victorious. Foiled in this attempt, King Hugh contrived

Marriage of
Marozia with
Hugh of Pro-
vence.

Dukedom of
Tuscany.
Lambert.

^d Liutprand interlards his history with verses:—

* Hæc tibi Moyseos non præstant carmina,
vates
Qui fratri sobolem fratris de nomine jus-
sit

Edere, si primus nequeat sibi gignere natum,
Nostra tuo peperisse viro te sæcula norunt,
Respondes scio, tu, sed non Venus ebria
curat."

* These children probably died early; nothing is heard of them.

to seize Lambert by treachery, and to put out his eyes. The rich inheritance and the power of Tuscany passed without resistance to Boso, brother of Hugh. Successful crime made Hugh of Provence only more welcome to Marozia. The King of Italy drew near to Rome: the cautious Marozia would not allow his army to enter the city, but received her royal bridegroom in the Castle of St. Angelo. There was celebrated this unhallowed marriage.^f

But the Romans would brook the dominion of a Roman woman, they would not endure that of a foreigner. The coarse vices, the gluttony of the soldiers of Hugh, offended the fastidious Italians. The insolence of Hugh

himself provoked a rebellion. The nobles were called upon to perform menial offices, usual probably in the half-feudal Transalpine courts, but alien to Italian manners. Alberic, the son of Marozia, was commanded to hold the water in which King Hugh washed his hands. Performing his office awkwardly or reluctantly, he spilled the water, and received a

blow on the face from the king. Already may

Alberic.

Alberic have been jealous of the promotion of his brother to the popedom, and have resented this devotion of his mother to her new foreign connexions. He was a youth of daring; he organised a conspiracy among the nobles of Rome; he appealed to the old Roman pride,—“Shall these Burgundians, of old the slaves of Rome, tyrannise over Romans?”^g At the

^f “Advenit optatus oen bos tibi ductus
ad aram
Rex Hugo, Romanam potius commo-
tus ob urbem,
Quid juvat, o scelerata, virum sic
perdere sanctum.”

The sanctity of King Hugo! The naïveté of Liutprand is truly comic, betraying the motive, the possession of

Rome, for this sacrifice!

^g Liutprand. This loose writer, and Flodoard, whose adulatory phrases on the virtues and wisdom of each successive pope remind us of the proverbial mendacity of epitaphs, are still almost our sole authorities.

tolling of the bell the whole people flocked to his banner, and attacked the castle of St. Angelo before Hugh could admit his own troops. Alberic ^{A.D. 932.} remained master of the Castle, of his mother, and of the Pope. These two he cast into prison, defied the King of Italy, who made an ignominious retreat, and from that time remained master of Rome.^h

For four years Pope John XI. lingered, in fact a prisoner, at least without any share in the government of Rome, only permitted to perform his spiritual functions. Alberic ruled undisturbed. King Hugh attempted to bribe him to the surrender of Rome, by the offer of his daughter in marriage; the more crafty Alberic married the daughter, and retained possession of Rome. After the death of John, a succession of Popes, appointed, no doubt, by the sole will of Alberic,—Leo VII., Stephen IX., Marinus II., Agapetus II., pass over the throne of the Papacy, with hardly a sign of their power in Rome, no indication of their dignity, still less of their sanctity. They are still Popes beyond the Alps.ⁱ

Papal succession.

Leo, Jan. 936.

Stephen, 939.

Marinus, 941.

Agapetus, 945-955.

Nor was the supreme Pontiff alone depressed in these turbulent times. The great ecclesiastics of Italy are mingled up in most of the treacherous and bloody transactions of the period.^k Individual

Great ecclesiastics of Italy.

^h Flodoard, in Chron. apud Duchesne. On his title Prince and Senator of Rome. Gregorovius, p. 318, note.

ⁱ Leo sends a bull to the Archbishop of Hamburg; appoints the Archbishop of Mentz his legate, with full power to correct bishops and monks; makes grants and issues laws.—Regesta, apud

Jaffé. Stephen interferes in France in favour of Louis d'Outre-mer. Marinus confirms the Archbishop of Mentz as his vicar. Agapetus, in a Council, condemns Hugh, Archbishop of Rheims. On Leo, however, and his Benedictine Reforms, even in Rome.—Gregorovius, 332 et seqq.

^k The obscenities which perpetually

energy gave the bishop of a city great power; but as they acted with as little restraint, so these prelates were treated with as little reverence as secular princes. Lanthulf of Capua, and Athanasius of Naples, have already appeared in that strangely mingled character of the lawless Italian prince and the Christian prelate. Lanthbert had bought the archbishopric of Milan, by large bribes, from the Emperor Berengar. It was by his instrumentality that Burchard, Duke of Suabia, the father-in-law of King Rodolf of Burgundy, was surprised and murdered. Burchard, indeed, had given provocation; he had threatened to turn a church in the suburbs into a fortress, by which he would bridle the mutinous city of Milan.^m

Hugh of Provence, now undisputed King of Italy, though ejected from and baffled before Rome, ruled supreme in Pavia, where he built a splendid palace. Hugh, throughout his reign, showed the utmost scorn of ecclesiastical as of moral control. He had violated the law of marriage by his union with Marozia; as soon as he found it convenient he declared that marriage null, and married Alda, the daughter of King Lothair. On

A.D. 938.

her death he again wedded Bertha, widow of King Rodolf of Burgundy, and in contempt of the canon law, united her daughter to his son. No stern or ascetic prelate ventured to rebuke the promiscuous concubinage with which the King of Italy still further outraged public decency. He bestowed the great

occur in the pages of the Bishop Liutprand betoken an age of profound corruption. The Italian character was now a strange fusion of lust and ferocity. The emasculation of their enemies was a common revenge.

^m Compare Verri, *Storia di Milano*,

c. iii. p. 99, for the insulting language of Burchard, whom the Archbishop had honoured with the especial privilege of allowing him to hunt a stag in his park. Burchard expressed at once his admiration and contempt at the height and strength of the walls of Milan.

bishoprics according to his caprice. One of his bastards he made Bishop of Piacenza, another Archdeacon, or one of the Cardinals, with the hope of succession to the archbishopric of Milan.ⁿ Hilduin, his relation, expelled from his see in France, was raised to the archbishopric of Milan. Ratherius, a French monk, on account of his skill in the seven liberal arts, was made Bishop of Verona; this was contrary to the inclination of Hugh, who declared that Ratherius should bitterly lament his elevation. He cut him off with a very small stipend, and forced him to take an oath not to lay claim to any more of the revenues of the Church.^o On the seizure of Verona by Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, who aspired for a short time to the empire, Ratherius, accused of favouring the usurper, was seized, deposed, and imprisoned at Pavia. Manasseh, Archbishop of Arles, the ungrateful favourite of Hugh, had been permitted to swallow up the bishoprics of Trent, Verona, and Mantua. This ambitious prelate, tempted by the higher offer of the archbishopric of Milan,^p on the first opportunity, sought to betray his patron. He was master of the March of Trent, and, as Bishop, commanded the pass of the Alps. This pass he surrendered to Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea, when he rose to supplant King Hugh in the dominion of Italy. Monasticism, too, was now at its lowest ebb.

ⁿ Liutprand, iv. 6. Teobaldo, his bastard by Stephanía, a Roman concubine of King Hugh. Verri, p. 101. Hugh formed a plot for the murder of Alderic, the Archbishop; it was baffled.

^o The writings of Ratherius in D'Achery, Spicileg. i., and in Martene and Durand, are full of curious matter on his personal history and the state of

the Church. He is strong against the universal marriage of the clergy, which he brands as adultery. D'Achery, i. 363.

^p "Quum miles esse inciperet, episcopus esse desinit." Thus writes Liutprand of Manasseh. Manasseh, in justification of his promotions, had profanely quoted to Liutprand the translation of St. Peter from Antioch to Rome. Liutprand, iii. 2.

King Hugh granted the lands of abbeys, and even abbeys, like other lands, to his flatterers or his servants.*

Italy, which was soon weary of better kings, began to take steps for relieving herself of the oppressions of King Hugh. Conspiracy against King Hugh. Conspiracies were formed with Transalpine sovereigns to contest the kingdom of Italy, first with Rodolf of Burgundy, whom Hugh bribed to peace by the surrender of part of his Provençal dominions. Then Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, descended the Alps, and occupied Verona. He retreated with discomfiture and disgrace.

At length arose a more formidable rival. Berengar, A.D. 936. Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea. Marquis of Ivrea, had married Willa, the daughter of Boso, King Hugh's brother, on whom the king had bestowed the dukedom of Tuscany. Jealous of his brother's wealth, and of certain splendid ornaments, in which Boso and his wife took great delight, Hugh despoiled his brother of the dukedom, which he then granted to one of his own bastards. Berengar had been suspected, with his brother Anschar, Duke of Spoleto, of dangerous designs against the king. Anschar took up arms and fell in battle. Berengar was then at the court of the king, who had determined to seize and blind him. A.D. 940. Berengar received timely warning (it is said from Lothair, King Hugh's son, who reigned with conjoint authority), and fled beyond the Alps. There he remained till, almost summoned by the general discontent of the Italian princes, he descended the Alps as a deliverer. The great ecclesiastics were the first to desert the cause of King Hugh. Manasseh, on the promise of the archbishopric of Milan, opened Trent. Adelard, his officer, who commanded the

* Liutprand, iv. c. 3. Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, sub ann. f39.

fortress Fiumigara in that district, was rewarded for joining in his master's treason, by the promise of the bishopric of Como. Princes crowded around Berengar to obtain castles or domains, ecclesiastics monasteries or bishoprics. Berengar dispossessed the spiritual as unscrupulously as the temporal sovereigns. He expelled Joseph from the see of Brescia; he broke his promise of the see of Como to Adclard, and gave it to Waldo, a lawless robber, who plundered the highways and blinded his captives; to Adelard he gave the see of Reggio. He was only prevented by large bribes from dispossessing the Bishops of Parma and Piacenza. Guido, Bishop of Modena, had been gained to his party by the rich abbey of Nonantula. A.D. 945.

Berengar was content to leave the title of King of Italy for a short time to Hugh and his son Lothair, while himself possessed the real power. Hugh, disgusted at this humiliation, speedily withdrew, with his enormous wealth, beyond the Alps, leaving the vain but perilous ensigns of royalty to his promising son. He died the year after his retirement. A.D. 946.

Lothair lingered on for three years in this inglorious kingly servitude, and died in the flower of his age, poisoned, as of course it was rumoured, by Berengar—by Berengar, whose life he had saved from the plots of his own father, Hugh of Provence. A.D. 947. Berengar and his son Adalbert became kings of Italy. A.D. 950.

During the whole reign of Hugh of Provence, notwithstanding the open or treacherous assaults of that king, Alberic, whether as an armed tyrant, commanding Rome from the Castle of St. Angelo, or as the head of a republic, and recognised by the voice of the Roman

people, had maintained his authority. He had ruled for twenty-two years; he bequeathed that authority, on his death, to his son Octavian.

A.D. 953.

Octavian, though only nineteen years old, aspired to unite, in his own person, the civil and spiritual supremacy. He was already in holy orders; two years after the death of his father Alberic, the Pope Agapetus II. died; and Octavian, by the voluntary or enforced suffrages of the clergy and the people, was elected Pope. He was the first of the Roman pontiffs who changed, or rather took a second ecclesiastical name; the civil government seems to have been conducted in that of Octavian; the Church was administered under that of John XII.

Pope John
XII.
Nov. 955.

Berengar and his son Adalbert, kings of Italy, had made no attempt on Rome during the strong rule of Alberic. The youth of the new Governor and Pope tempted them to threaten the independence of the city, and to bring it within the sphere of their tyranny. Of that new tyranny Italy was now again weary. Berengar, his wife Willa, and his son Adalbert, are charged with acts of atrocious cruelty and oppression, in every part of their large dominions.

CHAPTER XII.

The Othos on the Imperial Throne.

IN the mean time had arisen in Germany a monarch more powerful than had appeared in Europe since the death of Charlemagne. Otho the Great, of the Saxon line, had inherited a preponderating power in the North of Germany. He had greatly increased it by his own successes in war. The Danes, the Sclavonians, the Hungarians, had been subdued by his arms, or awed by the terrors of his victorious forces. All Germany submitted to his sway, or acknowledged his' superiority. Already, some years before, the formidable Otho had made a descent on Italy; but his expedition was more that of an adventurous Paladin of later days for the deliverance of a captive princess, than the invasion of a mighty sovereign. That princess had pretensions indeed to the kingdom of Italy. The beautiful Adelaide, the widow of King Lothair (the gallant but unfortunate son and heir of Hugh of Provence), had been cruelly persecuted after her husband's death, by Berengar, whose son Adalbert aspired to her hand. She had been stripped of all her jewels and costly raiment, beaten, her hair torn from her head, and plunged into a foetid dungeon.* She made her escape, with the assistance of a priest, and took refuge under the protection of the Bishop of Reggio. That prelate entrusted her to the

* So writes S. Odilo, Abbot of Clugny.—Vita S. Adelard. apud Cantuaria. Hroswitha de Gest. Oddon.

care of his brother, who held the strong castle of Canossa, in fee of that Church. Canossa defied the siege of

Berengar and Adalbert. Otho, whose son

A.D. 951.

Ludolf had already made a descent, not brilliantly successful, upon Italy, suddenly swept down from the Alps, rescued and married the captive princess. Berengar was obliged to open the gates of Pavia to the irresistible Otho.

Otho made some disposition for a visit to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope Agapetus; but Alberic would brook no master. The Pope, at his dictation, declined to receive the dangerous stranger. Otho returned to Germany to suppress the menaced rebellion of his son Ludolf, who had taken offence at his father's second marriage. He was followed in the next year by Berengar and Adalbert, who stooped to receive the kingdom of Italy as vassals of the German Otho. They promised—no doubt the secret of their humiliation was the wide-spread discontent of their Italian subjects—to rule with greater equity and moderation.^b But for four years Otho was occupied with his German wars, civil wars against his sons, and wars against the Hungarians;^c the tyranny of Berengar and his son Adalbert weighed on the necks of his subjects with all its former burthen. The son of Otho, Ludolf, who had returned to the allegiance of his father, was first despatched with a great army to the deliverance of Italy. After having overcome all resistance, Ludolf died, by one account slain

^b Hroswitha de Gestis Oðdonis :—

* Hunc Regem certè digno suscepit honore,
Restituens illi sublatis culmina Regni,
Ista percipit tantum sub conditione.
— seu subjectis jussis esset studiosus.

• • • et

Ut post hac populum reget clementius
ipsum
Quem prius Imperio nimium contrivè,
amaro."

* On these wars read Giesebrecht.
Deutsche Kaiserzeit, Braunschweig,
1855.

in battle by the hand of King Adalbert, by another poisoned through the agency of Berengar; more probably of a fever. Berengar and Adalbert, who had cowered before the irresistible enemy, resumed their sway, and their tyranny was aggravated by revenge. The cry was again loud and universal for the interposition of the Germans.

A.D. 957.

The Church by her prelates was the first and most urgent in its supplications to the Transalpine for deliverance from her Italian tyrants. The Pope John XII. (Octavian), menaced by Berengar, sent two ambassadors of high rank on this important mission. The Archbishop of Milan, who had been dispossessed to make room for Manassch of Arles, and Waldo, the deprived Bishop of Como, joined in the appeal. Many of the Italian princes were equally impatient for succour.

All Italy looked for the coming of the new Charlemagne. On his appearance resistance vanished. Berengar and Adalbert shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses. It was a triumphal procession to Pavia—to Rome. At Pavia Otho the Great was crowned King of Italy, at Rome the Pope anointed him as Emperor. Thenceforth the King of Germany claimed to be Western Emperor.¹ Otho swore to protect the Church of Rome against all her enemies, to maintain her rights and privileges, to restore her lands and possessions, when he should have recovered them, and to make no change in the government of Rome without the sanction of the Pope. John XII. and the Roman people took the oath of allegiance

A.D. 961-2.
Arrived at
Rome Feb.

¹ Otho of Freisingen says of the Emperor Otho: "Imperium Romanum virtute sua ad Francos orientales reduxit."—vi. 24.

"Quemcumque sibi Germania regem Præfuit, hunc dives submisso vertice Roma Suscipit."—*Gunther, in Jäger*. Compare Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats und Rechts Geschichte*, ii. p. 36.

to the Emperor; they swore more particularly to
A.D. 962.
Purification
of the Virgin. abandon all connexion with Berengar and
his son. The oath was taken on the body
of St. Peter.

Yet no sooner had the Emperor returned to Pavia,
than the perfidious John, finding that he had unwarily
Treachery of
the Pope. introduced a master instead of an obsequious
ally, began to enter into correspondence with
Adalbert, who, driven from every Italian city, had found
refuge with the Saracens. Rumours of this treason
reached the Emperor. The noble German would not
believe the monstrous perfidy; he sent some trustworthy
officers to inquire into the truth; they returned with a
fearful list of crimes, of license, and cruelty with which
the son of Alberic, who seems entirely to have sunk the
character of Pope in that of the young warlike, secular
prince, was 'charged by the unanimous voice of Rome.

A.D. 962. The Emperor calmly replied, that the Pope
was young, the counsel and example of good
men would soon work a change. In the mean time
Otho proceeded to besiege first Queen Willa in the
castle San Giulio in the island of the Lago di Garda,
then Berengar in his strong fortress of Monte Leone
near Montefeltro.

The Pope sent two legates to the camp of Otho to
promise amendment, but at the same time boldly re-
criminated on the Emperor, as having infringed on his
part the solemn treaty. He had seized two of the
Pope's vassals, and compelled them to swear allegiance
to himself. Nor had he restored, as he had sworn, the
dominions of the Pope. Otho condescended to reply
that these men had been seized at Capua, on a mission
to Constantinople, hostile to him; that at the same time
others had been taken, who on pretence of a religious

mission to the Hungarians,* were to incite those unbelievers to attack the dominions of Otho; that he had not restored all the Roman territory, only because he had not yet recovered it from the enemies of the See. The treason of the Pope, on the other hand, rested not on vague rumour; the whole correspondence with the Pope's signature and seal was in his hands. Otho sent two bishops, Landobard, a Saxon, and Liutprand of Cremona, to offer the Pope satisfaction as to the charges against his honour: either their own oath, or the wager of battle. His soldier would maintain the fair fame of the Emperor against any champion appointed by the Pope. The Pope, says Liutprand, not without manifest indignation, refused both the oath of the bishops, and the single combat of the warriors. King Adalbert, in the mean time, had emerged from his retreat among the Saracens, and appeared publicly in Rome.

Otho marched at once upon the capital; the Pontiff had reckoned on the cordial support of the people; they recoiled: the Pope and Adalbert fled together from Rome. July, 963

The Emperor summoned an ecclesiastical council; it was attended by the Archbishops of Aquileia (by deputy), of Milan, of Ravenna, and Hamburg; by two German and two French metropolitans; by a great number of bishops and presbyters from Lombardy, Tuscany, and all parts of Italy. The whole militia of Rome assembled as a guard to the council round the church of St. Peter. The proceedings of the council mark the times. Inquiry was made why the Pope was not present. A general cry of astonishment broke forth from

* The Legates to the Hungarians had letters, "*plumbo signatas*," to exhort them, "*ut super Ottonem Imperatorem irruant*."—Liutprand, *Hist. Otton.* c. 6.

the clergy and the people—"The very Iberians, Babylonians, and Indians have heard the monstrous crimes of the Pope. He is not a wolf who condescends to sheep's clothing; his cruelty, his diabolical dealings are open, avowed, disdain concealment." The calmer justice of the Emperor demanded specific charges. The cardinal presbyter rose and declared that he had seen Pope John celebrate mass, without himself communicating. Another, that he had ordained a bishop in a stable; that he had taken bribes for the consecration of bishops, and had ordained a bishop of Todi who was but ten years old. "For his sacrileges, all eyes might behold them;" they alluded, probably, to the dilapidation of the churches, which were open to the weather and so much out of repair, that the worshippers could not assemble from fear lest the roofs should fall on their heads. Darker charges followed, mingled with less heinous, in strange confusion; charges of adultery, incest, with the names of the females, one his father's concubine, another a widow and her niece; he had made the Lateran palace a brothel; he had been guilty of hunting: charges of cruelty, the blinding one dignified ecclesiastic, the castrating another, both had died under the operation: he had let loose fire and sword, and appeared himself constantly armed with sword, lance, helmet, and breastplate. Both ecclesiastics and laymen accused him of drinking wine for the love of the devil; of invoking, when gambling, heathen deities, the devils Jove and Venus. He had perpetually neglected matins and vespers, and never signed himself with the sign of the cross.

The Emperor could only speak German; he commanded the Bishop of Cremona to address the assembly in Latin. Liutprand warned the council, he adjured

Trial of the
Pope, Nov. 6.

them by the blessed Virgin and by St. Peter, not to bring vague accusations, or such as could not be supported by accredited testimony, against the holy father. Bishops, deacons, clergy, and people with one voice replied, "If we do not prove these and more crimes against the Pope, may St. Peter, who holds the keys of heaven, close the gates against us; may we be stricken with anathema, and may the anathema be ratified at the day of judgement!" They appealed to the whole army of Otho, whether they had not seen the Pope in full armour on the other side of the Tiber; but for the river he had been taken in that attire.

Letters were sent summoning the Pope to answer to these accusations; accusations some of them so obscene, that they would have been thought immodest if made against stage players.^f If the Pope dreaded any assault from the enraged multitude, the Emperor answered for the security of his person. The Pope's reply was brief, contemptuous,—“John, the servant of God, to all the bishops. We hear that you design to elect a new Pope, if you do, in the name of Almighty God, I excommunicate you, and forbid you to confer orders, or to celebrate mass!”

Thrice was Pope John cited before the Council. Messengers were sent to Tivoli; the answer was, “The Pope was gone out to shoot.”^g Unprecedented evils demand unprecedented remedies. The Em-^{John de-}peror was urged to expel this new Judas from ^{posed, Dec. 4,} 963. the seat of the Apostle, and to sanction a new election. Leo, the chief secretary of the Roman See, was unanimously chosen, though a layman, in the room of the apostate John XII.

^f “Ut si de histrionibus dicerentur vobis verecundiam ingererent.”

^g “Pharetratus jam in campestrum abierat.”

But the army of Otho, a feudal army, and bound to do service for a limited period, began to diminish ; part had been injudiciously dispersed on distant enterprises ; the Romans, as usual, soon grew weary of a foreign, a German yoke. The emissaries of Pope John watched the opportunity: a furious insurrection of the people broke out against the Emperor and his Pope. The valour of Otho, who forced the barricades of the bridge over the Tiber, subdued the rebellion. He took a terrible revenge. The supplications of Leo with difficulty arrested the carnage. Otho soon after left Rome, and marched towards Cambrina and Spoleto in pursuit of King Adalbert. The King Berengar and his wife Willa were taken in the castle of St. Leo, and sent into Germany.

Hardly, however, had Otho left the city, when a new rebellion, organised by the patrician females of Rome, rose on the defenceless Leo, and opened the gates of the city to John. Leo with difficulty escaped to the camp of Otho. The remorseless John re-entered the city, resumed his pontifical state, seized and mutilated the leaders of the imperial party, of one he cut off the right hand, of another, a Cardinal, the tongue, the nose ; and of a presbyter two fingers ; in this plight they appeared in the imperial camp. An obsequious synod reversed the decrees of that which had deposed John. The Roman

people had now embraced the cause of the son of Alberic with more resolute zeal ; for the Emperor was compelled to delay till he could re-assemble a force powerful enough to undertake the siege of the city. Ere this, however, his own vices had delivered Rome from her champion or her tyrant, Christendom from her worst pontiff. While he was pursuing his

A.D. Jan. 3,
964.

A.D. 964.

Returns to
Rome.

Feb. 964.

Feb. 27.

amours in a distant part of the city, Pope John XII. was struck dead by the hand of God, as the more religious supposed; others by a more May 14, 961. natural cause, the poignard of an injured husband.^b

But it was a Roman or Italian, perhaps a republican feeling which had latterly attached the citizens to the son of Alberic, not personal love or respect for his pontifical character. They boldly proceeded at once, without regard for the Emperor, to the election of a new pope, Benedict V.

Otho soon appeared before the walls: he summoned the city, and ordered every Roman who attempted to escape to be mutilated. The republic was forced to surrender. Benedict, the new pope, was brought before the Emperor. The Cardinal Archdeacon, who had adhered to the cause of Leo, demanded by what right he had presumed to usurp the pontifical robes during the lifetime of Leo, the lawful pope. "If I have sinned," said the humbled prelate, "have mercy upon me." The Emperor is said to have wept. Benedict threw himself before the feet of Otho, drew off the sacred pallium, and delivered up his crozier to Leo. Leo broke it, and showed it to the people. Benedict was degraded to the order of deacon, and sent into banishment in Germany. He died at Hamburg.

The grateful, or vassal pope, in a council, recognises the full right of the Emperor Otho and his June 23, 964. successors in the kingdom of Italy, as Hadrian that of Charlemagne, to elect his own successors to the Empire, and to approve the Pope. This right was to

^b Other authorities, followed by Muratori, speak of a sickness of eight days.

belong for ever to the King of the Roman Empire, and to none else.ⁱ

Early in the next year the Emperor Otho re-crossed the Alps.^k Leo VIII. died, and a deputation from Rome followed the Emperor to Germany, to solicit the reinstatement of the exiled Benedict to the popedom. But Benedict was dead also. The Bishop of Narni (John XIII.), with the approbation or by the command of the Emperor, was elected to the papacy.^m

In these dark times the form of a republic seems dimly to arise with magistratures bearing the old and venerable names of consuls, tribunes, and prefects. But whether it was a confederacy of the Roman barons in the city and the neighbourhood who usurped these functions, the titles of which had perhaps never been extinct, or a popular movement towards independence, it is difficult to determine. At all events, its avowed aim was to shake off the yoke as well of the Pope as of the Emperor.

Scarcely had John XIII. assumed the pontificate than the barons and the people began to murmur against the haughtiness of the new pontiff. They expelled him from the city with one consent. The Prefect Rotfred, not without personal insult to the Pope, assumed the government of Rome; for ten months John XIII. was an exile from his see, at first a prisoner, afterwards in freedom. From his retreat in

ⁱ See the law in Pertz, Leg. ii. 167. The form of the Bull is thought suspicious; of the substance there is no doubt.—Jaffé, Regesta, p. 324.

^k The Emperor Otho returned from Italy bearing many precious reliques,

and splendid marbles to adorn his noble church at Magdeburg.—Thietmar, ii. 10, 11. He was at Pavia Christmas 964.

^m Otho created and disposed of bishoprics with full and unlimited powers.—Thietmar.

Campania he wrote with urgent entreaty to the Emperor. Otho made the cause of John his own; for the third time he descended the Alps; the terror of his approach appalled the popular faction. In a counter insurrection in favour of the Pope, Rotfred the prefect was killed, and the gates opened to the pontiff; he was received with hymns of joy and gratulation.^a At Christmas Otho entered Rome; and the Emperor and the Pope wreaked a terrible vengeance at that holy season on the rebellious city. The proud Roman titles seemed but worthy of derision to the German Emperor and his vassal Pope. The body of the prefect who had expelled John from the city was dug up out of his grave and torn to pieces. The Consuls escaped with banishment beyond the Alps; but the twelve Tribunes were hanged; the actual prefect^o set upon an ass, with a wine-bag on his head, led through the streets, scourged, and thrown into prison. All Europe, hardened as it was to acts of inhumanity, shuddered at these atrocities. The Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, reproached the ambassador of Otho at Constantinople with his barbarity. Liutprand, though an Italian, was devoted to the Emperor and his cause: he haughtily answered, that his master had only punished, according to the imperial laws of Theodosius and Justinian, insurgents against the Empire and the Pope; he had scourged, executed, hanged, and banished these sacrilegious rebels^p who

A.D. 968

Nov. 12, 966

A.D. 967.

^a Continuat. Reginon. sub ann. 696.

^o He had first been hanged by the hair on the famous equestrian statue of M. Aurelius in the capitol.—Gregorovius, p. 387.

^p "Jugulavit, suspendit, exilio rele-

gavit."—Liutprand. The emperors of Constantinople had never abandoned their pretensions to Rome and Italy. Nicephorus resented the allegiance demanded by Otho of the princes of Benevento and Spoleto, and his hosti-

had broken their oath of allegiance. If he had not done so, he had been impious, unjust, tyrannical.^a

The rebellion was crushed for a time; during the five remaining years of John's pontificate the presence of Otho overawed the refractory Romans. He ruled in peace. At his death the undisturbed vacancy of the See for three months implies the humble consultation of Otho's wishes (he had now returned to Germany) on the appointment of his successor.

Sept. 6, 972.

The choice fell on Benedict VI., as usual of Roman birth. The factions of Rome now utterly baffle conjecture as to their motives, as to the passions, not the principles, which actuated their leaders. Twice (the second time after an interval of ten years, during which he was absent from Rome), the same man, a Cardinal Deacon, seizes and murders two Popes; sets himself up as Supreme Pontiff, but though with power to commit these enormities, he cannot maintain on either occasion his ill-won tiara.

Jan. 19, 973.

The formidable Otho the Great^r died the year of the accession of Benedict VI.* Otho II., whose character was as yet unknown, had succeeded to the imperial throne; he had been already the colleague of his father in the Empire. He had been crowned at Rome by Pope John XIII.^t

Dec. 25, 967.

lities against the few remaining possessions of the Greeks in Southern Italy. He demanded restoration of the Exarchate and of Rome, as the price to be paid for the hand of his daughter. The Romans will appeal afterwards, more than once, in their desperation, turning for succour to the decrepit East.

^a In the Legatio of Liutprand are some curious details on the Greek

clergy. The passage often quoted from Liutprand about the degeneracy of the Romans refers to the *Byzantine* Romans.

^r "Post Carolum magnum regalem cathedram nunquam tantus patriæ rector atque defensor possedit."—So writes Thietmar of Otho I.

^s He died May 7, 973.

^t John XIII. also crowned Theophania the Byzantine wife of Otho II. April 14, A.D. 972.

The year after the accession of Otho II., on a sudden, Bonifazio, surnamed Francone, described as the son of Ferruccio, a name doubtless well known to his contemporaries, seized the unsuspecting Pope Benedict and cast him into a dungeon, where shortly after he was strangled. Bonifazio assumed the papacy; but he had miscalculated the strength of his faction, in one month he was forced to fly the city. Yet he fled not with so much haste, but that he carried off all the treasures, even the sacred vessels from the church of St. Peter. He found his way to Constantinople, where he might seem to have been forgotten in his retreat. The peaceful succession of Benedict VII., the nephew or grandson of the famous Alberic, may lead to the conclusion that the faction of that family still survived, and was opposed to that of Bonifazio. The first act of Benedict, as might be expected, was the assembling a council for the excommunication of the murderer and anti-pope Boniface. This is the first and last important act in the barren annals of Pope Benedict VII. Under the protection of the Emperor Otho II., or by the strength of his Roman faction, he retained peaceful possession of the See for nine years," an unusual period of quiet. He was succeeded, no doubt through the influence of the Emperor, by John XIV., who was no Roman, but Bishop of Pavia. But in the year of John's accession, Otho II. was preparing a great armament to avenge a terrible defeat by the Saracens. He had hardly fled

July. 974.

A.D. 974.

A.D. 983.

* Sismondi is probably right that Domus or Domnus, who is here inserted, was merely a title, Dominus Benedictus. This conjecture has the farther recommendation of giving the full nine (or near ten) years to the papacy of Benedict, according to the epitaph quoted by Baronius. Compare Jaffé, who quotes a work of Giesebrecht as conclusive.

from the conquering Saracens, made his escape from a Greek ship by leaping into the sea and swimming ashore.^x He now threatened with all the forces of the realm to bridge the Straits of Messina, and re-unite Sicily to the Empire of the West. In the midst of his preparations he died at Rome.^y

The fugitive Bonifazio Francone had kept up his correspondence with Rome; he might presume on the unpopularity of a pontiff, if not of German birth, imposed by foreign influence, and now deprived of his all-powerful protector. With the same suddenness as before, he re-appeared in Rome, seized the Pope, imprisoned him in the Castle of St. Angelo, of which important fortress he had become master, and there put him to death by starvation or by poison.^z He exposed

the body to the view of the people, who dared not murmur. He seated himself, as it seems, unresisted, in the papal chair. The Holy See was speedily delivered from this murderous usurper. He died suddenly. The people revenged themselves for their own base acquiescence in his usurpation by

cowardly insults on his dead body:^a it was dragged through the streets, and at length buried, either by the compassion or the attachment, for Boniface must have had a powerful faction in Rome, of certain ecclesiastics. These bloody revolutions could not but destroy all reverence for their ecclesiastical

^x Muratori, *Annali*, ann. 982. Giesebrecht, p. 567. On this battle, Amari II. 324.

^y Richer, whose valuable chronicle the industry of Pertz has recovered, is very particular on the death of Otho II. He was suffering from indigestion, took 4 drachms of aloes, which brought

on a bloody flux.—b. iii. c. 96. On his tomb, see Papencordt's note p. 182. Gregorovius, 420.

^z Chronic. Voltorn. apud Muratori, t. i. p. 11.—R. I. Hermann. *Contract*, sub ann. 984.

^a Catal. Pap. apud Eccard.

rulers in the people of Rome. The Empire was vacant; Otho III., though he called himself King of Germany and of Italy, had not yet assumed the imperial crown: and Otho was a youth who had but newly succeeded to his father.

The Roman Republic, crushed by the overwhelming power of Otho the Great, now again assumes a distinct form and regular authority; and at the head of this republic is the Consul Crescentius, by the ecclesiastical writers condemned as a sacrilegious usurper, in modern days hailed as the champion and the martyr of Roman liberty. By a probable, if not a certain, genealogy, Crescentius descended from that famous, or infamous, line of Theodora, Marozia, and Alberic, who had so long ruled in Rome.^b He was the grandson of Theodora and the Pope John of Ravenna; by the mother's side he was nephew of Alberic. Crescentius was Master of the Castle of St. Angelo, so lately possessed by the usurper Boniface (who may have been supported by the Roman party, the house of Alberic), and the Castle of St. Angelo commanded Rome.

* Hoefler, in his *Deutsche Päpste*, a panegyric rather than a history of the German popes, has ingeniously traced this genealogy of the Crescentii from the various epitaphs preserved by Baronius:—

“Corporē hic recubat Crescentius Inclytus
ecce,
Eximius civis Romanus, Dux quoque
magnus.

Ex magnis magna proles generatur et alta
Joanne patre, Theodora matre nitescens.”

This was the Crescentius “caballi marmorei” of Liutprand, vi. sub ann. 963; the Crescentius of Hermannus Contractus, who imprisoned and strangled Pope Benedict VII., A.D. 964. The great parents were Pope John X.

and Theodora. This Crescentius had two sons: 1. John, named by Hermann. Contract. sub ann. 689, as having slain the Prefect Rotfred. 2. Crescentius (Numantanus), the Consul. The elder Crescentius became a monk; and by this, and ample and exemplary donations to the Church, atoned for his sins—

“Se Domino tradidit habitum monachorum
adeptus,
Quod templum donis amplius ditavit et
agris,
Hinc omnis, quicumque legis rogare me-
mento,
Ut tandem scelerum veniam mereretur ha-
bere.”

He died July 7, 984.

John XV., a Roman, had succeeded peaceably on the death of Boniface.^c But either the Pope disdained to

submit to the supremacy of the Consul, or the
 Sept. 985.

Consul persecuted the Pope. John XV. was either driven from Rome, or retired into Tuscany. His complaints of his contumacious people were heard with favour by the King of Italy, the youthful Otho, whom the Pope tempted to Rome that he might receive the imperial crown. The Romans had too recent and bitter remembrance of the terrible vengeance exacted by the

Germans for former revolts. The Pope was
 A.D. 987.

permitted to return; he was received with the utmost respect by the Consul and the Senate, whose powers he seems to have recognised without reserve. John XV. ruled for a period of eleven years, in quiet possession of his spiritual, if not of his secular, supremacy. The great imputation on his memory implies an accommodating temper, which would not provoke danger by ill-timed pride. He is charged too with excessive venality.^d Possibly the Republic, in its usurpation of the papal power, may likewise have laid claim to some of the revenues of the Roman territory; the Pope may have been thrown back on his spiritual resources, and so justified to himself his extortions on the appellants to Rome.

But however Rome and the Roman people might depress the Pope, and keep him in subjection to the Consul and the Senate, the Pope had rarely been in these latter times a native but of Rome, at least of

^c Another John, son of Robert, who ruled for four months, is inserted by some writers; but this John was called John XV. | a pilgrim at Rome, describes him as "turpis lucri cupidum, atque in omnibus actibus suis venalem."—Quoted in Muratori, A.D. 996.

^d Abbo, the pious Abbot of Fleury,

Italy. Rome heard with amazement, which it was constrained to suppress, and confusion which it dared not betray, that the Emperor had determined to unite in his own family, his barbarous German family, the Empire and the Papacy. Rome was not only to endure a foreign Emperor, but a foreign Pope. Christendom, in truth, would tolerate no longer the profound ignominy of the Papal See. There was still too much of true religion in the world to submit to such Popes as for nearly a century had profaned the throne of St. Peter. It was no insurrection of disobedience, nor of rebellion at the supremacy of the Roman See; it was an act of loyal reverence, of sincere respect. If Italy could not furnish more worthy pontiffs, Italy must forfeit her exclusive privilege. The determination might appear sudden, but it was the effect of moral indignation which had been long fermenting in the hearts of men, and broke forth when it could no longer be pent up in silence.

The descent of Otho III. to Italy might seem a great ecclesiastical armament of the Transalpine clergy to rescue the papacy from its debasement, the Pope from being the instrument or the victim of the turbulent factions in Rome: to put an end to the notorious vices, the licentiousness, the venality, the intrigues, the ferocious bloodthirstiness, which had so long degraded the head of Christendom.* Around the youthful Emperor, on whose face the first dawn of manhood began to appear, were assembled at Ratisbon the great dignitaries of the realm,—Willigis Metropolitan of Mentz, Harburg of Saltzburg, the Bishops Hildebald of Worms, Widebold of Strasburg, Rotberd of Spire, Notker of Liège,

* Vita S. Adalberti, apud Pertz.

Haimo of Verdun, Lambert of Constance, Gotschalk of Freisingen, Christian of Passau, Alawick Abbot of Reichenau. Gerbert the deposed Archbishop of Rheims, afterwards Pope Sylvester, was in the train.^f Otho confessed himself to the saintly abbot, Romuald of St. Emmeran. And so the Emperor, environed by his hierarchical council, set forth amid the sound of bells and the chants of the clergy; men bearing the holy lance led the way.

Otho celebrated Easter at Pavia, and received the
homage of the Lombard princes. He had
A.D. 996. arrived at Ravenna, where he was met by a message from the clergy, the senate, and the people of Rome, announcing the sudden death, by fever, of John XV., and humbly submitting to the wishes of the Emperor as to the appointment of his successor.

Otho at once proclaimed his determination to place his kinsman and chaplain Bruno, son of the Duke of Carinthia, on the vacant throne. Bruno was a youth of unblemished piety, of austere morals, morals ill suited for the state of Rome, and somewhat fiery temper. The Romans had gone too far to recede. The new Pope appeared in Rome, accompanied by Willigis of Mentz and Hildebald of Worms; he was received and consecrated with seeming joy. The more pious of the monks did not disguise their delight. "The news that a scion of the imperial house, a man of holiness, of wisdom, and virtue, is placed upon the chair of St. Peter, is news more precious than gold and precious stones." So writes the holy Abbo of Fleury to his friend.^g

^f These names appear signed to an original document, dated Rome, May 24, 996, published by Hüfer, *Zeitschrift für Archivkunde*, i. 538.—Quoted by Gfrörer, p. 1481.

^g Mabillon, *Act. Ord. S. Benedict.* vi. 30.

Rome, overawed, had submitted to receive the Pope; the Pope was followed by the King of Germany, who received the imperial crown from the hands of Gregory V., the name assumed by the new Pope. The Emperor held a Council with the ecclesiastics, a Diet with the civil authorities of Rome. The Consul Crescentius was summoned to appear before the latter (the Cæsar himself was on the tribunal), to answer for his offences. He was condemned to exile, but pardoned at the intercession of the Pope, who foresaw not how dangerous was his mercy. The Emperor exacted the vain homage of an oath of allegiance from the Romans to himself as Emperor, and an oath of fidelity to the Pope.

May 3, 996.

May 21.

May 25.

Otho withdrew from Rome and from Italy with almost as great rapidity as he had arrived; with him departed the German prelates, whose followers perhaps had formed the greater part of the army, content with having achieved their noble work, but having taken no measures to secure its permanence.

Gregory was left alone, to overawe as he could by the blamelessness of his life, his gentler virtues, the dignity of his spiritual character, the turbulent patricians and people of Rome, whom Crescentius had already roused and ruled by his eloquent reminiscences of their former liberties, of their republican glories; and Crescentius himself, who had already tasted the luxury of power. A year had not elapsed before the Pope was forced to fly from Rome, and reached Pavia in a state of utter destitution.¹ At Pavia he assembled a council of Italian

¹ He was in Rome only till the end of May; in August, at Pavia; 15th Sept. at Ingelheim.—Böhmer, *Regesta Ottonum*, p. 767.

¹ "Nudus omnium rerum."—Ann. Hildesheim, 996. *Annalista Saxa*, Sept. 29, A.D. 996.

bishops, and launched an excommunication against the rebel Crescentius ; ignorant, in his own profound religious faith, how dead the Romans had become to these familiar terrors. Crescentius laughed to scorn the spiritual menace of an unarmed and unprotected pontiff.

Crescentius wanted an antipope, and an antipope soon offered himself : he was not a Roman, but, singular as it may at first appear, a Greek, at least a Calabrian, a subject of the Greek empire. At this juncture the ambassadors of Otho III. at Constantinople returned to Rome ; among these was the Bishop of Placentia. Philagathus was a Calabrian of mean birth ; his knowledge of Greek, still spoken in the parts of Southern Italy subject to the Greek Emperor, had recommended him to the notice of Theophania, the Byzantine wife of Otho II., the mother and guardian of Otho III. He had been employed in important affairs ; had been ambassador more than once to Constantinople, where he had perhaps fostered the ambition, never yet extinct, in the Byzantine Emperor, of resuming his supremacy in Italy. The East, by the marriage of her princess with the Emperor of the West, had again become more mingled up with European affairs ; but that connexion would be no bar to engagements with the Roman insurgents against the authority of the Western Empire.

Philagathus had obtained, it was said, by violent means, the bishopric of Placentia : he had amassed great wealth by the plunder of that church, and was prepared with his wealth to be the antipope of the Roman republic. Crescentius and John XVI. agreed to divide the dominion of Rome ; and, under the protection of the Greek empire, the one with the title of patrician or consul to administer the temporal, the other the spiritual

affairs of the city. It cannot be supposed that Crescentius, whatever may have been the views of the subtle Greek Pope, had any serious designs of withdrawing Rome from its position as head of the Western Empire, or of restoring it to its dependence on the despised East.^k But in his desperation he caught at any alliance, and that alliance with the East was interpreted by the jealousy of the Germans as a deliberate transference of his allegiance. History, in truth, is always seeking for policy, when passions (as is so often the case) are the ruling motives of men. And the ambition of Crescentius was a passion, rather than a calm and heroic aim; it was not content with the temporal power, under the subordinate title of patrician or consul; the assertor of the liberties of Rome (an extant medal confirms the statement of one, though but of one historian) himself assumed the empire.

But the new Emperor or Consul, and the Pope, to whom all agree in ascribing fox-like cunning, had strangely miscalculated their strength. No sooner was Otho released from the Slavonian war in which he was engaged, than he appeared in Italy^m at the head of an overwhelming force of Germans and Italians; Italy was prostrate before him. He reached Rome, he entered Rome without the least resistance. Pope John made his escape, but was taken and brought back. The most horrible punishment was inflicted on the traitor to

^k Arnulf of Milan (apud Muratori, *Scrip. Ital.* iv.), said to have made accurate investigations into the history of Rome at that time, writes of John XVI.: "De quo dictum est, quod Romani decus Imperii in Græcos transferre tentasset. Si quidem consultu

et ope quorundam civium Romanorum, præcipue Crescentii cujusdam prædixit Apostolicam sedem jam violenter invaserat, dejecto eo, qui tunc insederat, venerabili Papæ."—c. ii.

^m 997. He was at Pavia, Jan. 5 998.

the Empire, the usurper of the Papal See. His eyes were put out, his nose and his tongue cut off, and in this state, it is said by the command of the hard-hearted Pope himself, he was paraded through the streets on an ass with his face to the tail, and the common form of mockery,—a wine-bladder on his head.ⁿ

Crescentius shut himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo, and for a short time defied the Emperor. He was at length persuaded to capitulate; but the perfidious Otho ordered him to be beheaded with twelve of his leading partisans; their bodies were hung with their heads downward round the battlements of the castle.^o So, says the historian, turbulent Rome was awed to peace before the Emperor.^p

But if Rome could not defend, it could revenge itself.

The German Pope enjoyed his recovered dignity hardly a year, and that not without disturbance; he was cut off in the flower of his age, as it

ⁿ Thietmar, iv. 21. "Gregorius V. . . . apprehendere fecit illum scelestum invasorem, et fecit ei oculos eruere et nasum cum lingua abscindere et in asello sedere faciens Romam fecit eum circumduci, cum utro in capite."—*Chron. Estens.* apud Muratori, S. L. lii. 2, p. 337. Compare *Cat. Pontif. Eccard* iv. Acta S. Nili. That holy hermit is there said to have interceded for the life of his wretched compatriot. The Emperor consented; but the savage Pope was not yet satisfied. *ὁ δὲ ἁγίος Πάπας ἐκείνος, μὴ χορτασθεὶς ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξεν εἰς τὸν προῤῥήθεντα Φιλάγαθον*, tore his dress from him, and then ordered him to be paraded through the city, as in the text. Out of this Höfler has made a religious

romance about the Pope's indignation at John's wearing the dress of a priest, not of a penitent (as if the poor blinded and mutilated prisoner could choose his dress). With more flagrant dishonesty, he attributes the cruelty of the Pope to the Roman people. Nilus, a Greek it is true, predicted the wrath of God both against Pope and Emperor. On the same authority (*Acta S. Nili*) rests the pilgrimage of Otho to Mount Garganus to expiate his cruelty towards John XVI.

^o Rudolphus Glaber has an incredible story of Crescentius appearing before the Emperor, and being allowed to re-enter the castle.

^p "Sic Roma ante mobilis regis quievit in oculis."—Arnulf.

was commonly believed by poison. Crescentius, too, was fearfully avenged: how avenged the close of three or four years will show, neither to the honour of the Emperor, nor of Rome.⁴

⁴ "Sed post discessum ejus (Ottonis III.) a Romanis expulsus, ac deinde veneno peremptus est." — Vit. S. Meinwerci, c. 10.^o Compare Acta S. Nili. Gfrörer, with his marvellous felicity for discerning recondite villainies, attributes Gregory V.'s death to his successor!! whom he calls the serpent of Ravenna—"die Schlange zu Ravenna!"—p. 1507.

CHAPTER XIII.

Otho III. Pope Silvester II. "

GREGORY V. had died, but the youthful Emperor Otho lived, revolving magnificent schemes of empire, and little foreseeing the fate which awaited him so speedily in Rome, the object and the centre of his ambitious designs. The first Millennial period of Christianity was drawing to its close. In many parts of Christendom there prevailed a deep and settled apprehension that with the thousandth year of Christ the world would come to an end. That last day, when Christ would return to judge the world; the day which, since the times of the Apostles, the more profoundly religious, especially in periods of more than usual darkness and calamity, had beheld as immediately at hand, as actually bursting upon the world, could not delay beyond this fatal period. The vague but awful language of prophecy had dwelt in strong terms on the period of a thousand years, as if divinely appointed to enclose certain phases of human history; and many of the most dreadful predicted signs (never wanting to those who seek for them with the sagacity of terror), the wars and rumours of wars, above all the want of faith upon the earth, might seem to justify these cowering apprehensions of the timid—the triumphant anticipations of the more ardent and hopeful believers. At the beginning of the century, the end of the world had been announced

by a grave council.^a The end of the world is at hand, was publicly preached at Paris.^b Men hastened to propitiate the coming, almost present Judge, by the sacrifice of their ill-gotten, now useless possessions. The deeds of the time, the donations of estates, and of all other gifts to the Church, are inscribed with the significant phrase, the end of the world being at hand.^c

But while these fears were lurking in the hearts of pious but obscure men; while they were darkening the dreams of holy recluses, and dictating the wills of penitent sinners trembling on the brink of the grave; the great men of Europe, the secular and ecclesiastical potentates entertained no timid misgivings as to the duration of the world. In Italy, in Rome the centre of Italy, these terrors were unknown. The Emperor himself, instead of apprehending the close, looked to the opening of the new Millennium but as the dawn of a Western Empire, as vast and comprehensive, more firmly established, and more stably organised, than that of Charlemagne. Otho had imagined the re-establishment of the Roman Empire, with Rome for its capital.^d

^a See Gieseler, Lehrbuch, 2, 1, p. 267. Michelet, Hist. des Français, lib. iv. c. 1, sub init. "Dum jam jamque adventus imminet illius in majestate terribili ubi omnes cum gregibus suis venient pastores in conspectum pastoris æterni."—Concil. Trosleian. sub ann. 909.

^b Abbo, the Abbot of Fleury, had heard this sermon in 990.—Galland, xiv. 141. "Æstimabatur enim ordo temporum et elementorum præterita ab initio moderans secula in chaos decidisse perpetuum, atque humani generis interitum."—Radolf. Glaber, l. iv. 39.

^c "Appropinquante mundi termino."

But compare Dr. Todd's Donnellan Lectures, who curiously traces the expectation of the final judgement through every century. Dr. Todd denies that the clergy encouraged the donations of land—"appropinquante mundi termino"—more about the year 1000 than at other times. It is a question hardly capable of proof.

^d "Imperator antiquam Romanorum consuetudinem jam ex parte magnâ deletam suis cupiens renovare temporibus, multa faciebat, quæ diversi diversè sentiebant."—Thietmar, iv. 29.

In all the hopefulness of youth, in the pride of an imperial descent for three generations, he resolved on the vast but impossible scheme of restoring Rome to her ancient authority as the seat of empire.* The reformation of the clergy by the renovated power of the Pope, the correction of that notorious avarice and venality for which Rome was already infamous,^f was to be accomplished by the appointment of a Supreme Pontiff truly apostolic in his character. The two great powers, the spiritual and the temporal, each working in his separate sphere, were to dwell together in the same eternal metropolis, and give laws, wise and holy and salutary laws, to Christendom.^g Rome might seem to have cast a spell upon the mind of the Teuton; it was on the Aventine Hill that he conceived and brooded over this great vision. He dismissed his German followers; he returned hastily, having appointed the new Pope, to Germany: in Germany, it was observed, not without jealousy, that he was environed by Italians.

Yet as if too his mind was not exempt from that holy awe which prevailed in other parts of Europe, the conduct of Otho during his short residence in Germany had a serious and melancholy character.

A.D. 1000.

* "*Româ solum quam præ ceteris diligebat ac semper excolebat, exceptâ.*"—*ôô.*

^f "*Tota Italia Roma mihi visa est; Romanorum mores mundus perhorrescit.*"—So had written Gerbert, *Epist.* 40, apud Duchesne, ii. 728. Gerbert was to know more of Rome. Thietmar writes of Rome: "*Corruptis autem pecuniâ cunctis primatibus maximèque Romanis quibus cuncta sunt venalia.*"—*iii.* 5.

^g "*Eodem tempore imperator Ro-*

mam profectus in antiquo palatio, quod est in Monte Aventino, versabatur, et sicut juvenis tam viribus audax quam genere potens, magnum quiddam immo et impossibile cogitans, virtutem Romani Imperii ad potentiam veterum Regum ad tollere conabatur. Mores etiam ecclesiasticos quos avaritia Romanorum pravis commercationum usibus vitiabat, ad normam prioris gratiæ reformare æstimabat."—*Chron. Camerac. c.* 114, apud Bouquet, x. 199. Compare Giesebrecht, p. 680 *et seqq.*

He made a pilgrimage to Gneisen, to the grave of Adalbert, the Apostle of Bohemia, the friend of his youth; he entered the town as a penitent, with discrowned head, and naked feet. At Quedlinburg he celebrated Easter with his sister, the holy Abbess Adelheid. At Aix-la-Chapelle, in obedience to a dream, he commanded the grave of the great Teutonic Emperor of the West, Charlemagne, to be opened. The body was found seated on a golden throne in royal apparel, with a crown of gold and jewels, and the sceptre in his hand. Otho took a cross of gold from his neck, and some part of his raiment, and commanded the tomb to be again closed over his imperial predecessor. This singular ceremony, this investiture, as it were, by the dead Charlemagne, at all events, this association of the two great names, coincided with the visionary ambition of Otho, and with the specific object of that ambition. •

Nor was the successor of Gregory V. a man to despair of the future fortunes of the world, to acquiesce in dreaming and indolent prostration of mind in the approaching termination of human affairs. Gerbert had gradually risen by his great abilities; his sagacity in ruling the minds of men; his learning, which awed his age; his unimpeachable morals, and his character for profound piety, through all the successive steps of ecclesiastical advancement to the second see in the West.

Gerbert was born near Avillac in Auvergne, of obscure parentage. He was received into the school of the Clugniac Abbey at Avillac. Gerbert. The abbot Gerald admired the indefatigable thirst for knowledge and the fervent piety of the youth, who felt himself born for great purposes. It happened that Borel, the Count of Barcelona, visited the monastery; he took the youthful student with him into Spain.

There the zeal of Gerbert did not prevent him from profiting by the mathematical science and advanced knowledge then exclusively possessed in Europe by the Mohammedan schools.^b He is said to have visited Cordova, where the Ommiade Caliph, Hakim II., held his splendid court, and patronised the peaceful arts and sciences. But the learned and scientific studies of Gerbert, so far beyond his age, were not those of a recluse and contemplative monk; nor did his Arabian skill in arithmetic, geometry, and astrology perhaps rather than astronomy, fall under the suspicion with which they were looked upon in later legend, as forbidden and magic arts. Gerbert must be archbishop and Pope, and incur all the hatred inevitable during contentious times in such high functions before he is branded as a necromancer. With Count Borel, and with Hatto, Bishop of Vich, in Catalonia, Gerbert visited Rome.^c There he attracted the notice of the Pope (John XII.) and of the Emperor Otho I. By Otho he was recommended to Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims. He taught in the school of that city, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Franco-Gallic church. He accompanied the Archbishop Adalbero again to Italy in the expedition of Otho II. That Emperor bestowed on him the famous Abbey of Bobbio.

But if the Italian manners of Rome shocked the piety of Gerbert, the turbulent and intriguing monks of Bobbio gave him no peace. Their poverty and nakedness distressed the Abbot. Former abbots had wasted, had even alienated the estates of that once

^b His Geometry is said to indicate Arabian sources of knowledge. | first scientific scholastic disputation) with Otric the Saxon. See the re-

^c It was during this expedition that | remarkable details in Richer.

splendid foundation of St. Columban.* The neighbouring nobles who had obtained possession of the lands of the abbey demanded the ratification of their usurped rights.^m Gerbert was persecuted; accused before the Emperor and the Empress Adelheid. He fled to Rome, with nothing left but his pastoral staff and his apostolic ordination. But the Pope, trembling for his own life, could give him no protection; and the death of his patron Otho II. left him utterly defenceless. He abandoned Italy lest there he should be obliged to join the enemies of Otho.ⁿ He returned to Rheims to live under the patronage of Archbishop Adalbero. For ten years^o he taught in the school of Rheims the whole range of human science;^p at the same time he acted as secretary to the Archbishop; in the Archbishop's name and in his own maintained a constant correspondence with Adelheid, the widow of the elder; with the Greek Theophania, the widow of the second and mother of the third Otho.^q

* "Cum videam monachos meos attenuari fame; premi nuditate . . . nescio quibus codicibus, quos libellos vocant, totum Sanctuarium Domini venundatum est. Collecta pecunia nunquam reperitur; apothecæ et horrea exhausta sunt: sed in marsupiiis nihil est."—Gerbert, *Epist. ad Othon. Imper.* Compare *Epist. iii.* to the Bishop of Tortona. *Epists. iv., v., and xii. et seqq.*

^m *Epist. xx.*

ⁿ See the first five of Gerbert's epistles, apud Bouquet.

^o This probably includes his former residence and teaching.

^p Richer is diffuse on the whole course of Gerbert's lectures. They comprehended rhetoric, logic, music,

geometry, astronomy. He explained the poets Virgil, Statius, Terence; the satirists Persius, Juvenal, Horace; the *historian* Lucan. Richer describes the "sphere" of Gerbert, and the Abacus, seemingly as wonders, yet unknown north of the Pyrenees. M. Haureau (*Hist. de la Philosophie Scholastique*) seems to think rather more highly of Gerbert's treatise *De Rationali et Ratione Uti* (published by Pez, *Thes. Anecd. v.* 1) than the authors of the *Hist. Littéraire*, and M. Cousin, p. 154.

^q Curious notices of books, especially of science, as well as historical facts, are scattered throughout Gerbert's letters; but they sadly want a critical editor.

The great but almost silent revolution was now taking place which raised the house of Capet to the throne of the effete race of Charlemagne. Hugh Capet received the crown of France from the hands of the Archbishop of Rheims.¹ His son Robert was consecrated by the same holy prelate. On the death of Archbishop Adalbero, a few months after, the metropolitan throne of Rheims might seem, like that of the Roman pontiffs, to have become the mark of secular as well as of spiritual ambition. But the contest for this hierarchical dignity, with no less violence and treachery, had something of feudal character. Adalbero, according to Gerbert, had bequeathed to him the care, the primate had hoped the succession to the See.² But it was too valuable a prize to be surrendered at once to a low born man, however the most distinguished in Christendom for learning and science. Arnulf, a bastard son of the royal house of France, the falling Carolingian house, aspired to the dignity. The bastardy was a blot in the ecclesiastical escutcheon, but might be washed off by the mystic sacramental power of the Church.³ Hugh Capet, from some unknown policy, supported the pretensions of Arnulf: he appeared at Rheims, and though he affected to leave

Rise of Hugh
Capet.

June, 987.

Christmas,
987.

Hugh's
accession,
Jan. 23, 988.

Arnulf of
Rheims.

¹ On the election of Hugh Capet, read the speech of Archbishop Adalbero, repudiating the notion of hereditary right to the crown.—Richer.

² "Taceo de me, cui nullæ (mille) mortes intendebantur; et quod pater noster Adalbero me successorem sibi designaverat, cum totius cleri, et omnium episcoporum, ac *quorundam* militum favore."—Epist. cl. ii.

³ "Sed tamen hac mater ecclesia purificans mysticis abluit sacramentis." See the proclamation of Arnulf, written by Gerbert, Epist. ii. 1. Hugh Capet does not seem to consider the bastardy a blot: he commends Arnulf to the citizens of Rheims as "*divæ memoriæ Lotharii ex concubinâ filius.*"—Richer, lib. iv.

the free election to the clergy and people, disguised not his own inclinations. Arnulf's oath of fidelity to Hugh Capet, couched in terms of more than usual severity of imprecation, has been preserved by a contemporary writer.^u Arnulf took the sacrament on this oath, and observed it—a few months. Arnulf was seized with compassion for his own despoiled and injured house. Hugh Capet became a usurper. The gates of Rheims were opened to Charles of Lorraine, the head of the Carolingian party. The archbishop at first pretended total ignorance of his own act; he was at length compelled to throw off the mask. Gerbert, also, had discovered the wrongs of the Carolingian house.^v He is become, as though indispensable in that office, the secretary of Arnulf, as he had been of Adalbero. In a letter to Bishop Adalberon or Ascelin, of Laon, he addresses him as his dear friend, and acknowledges^w how deeply he is mingled up with plots, conspiracies, litigations, secular affairs. "Why should this wrong be inflicted on the elder house? why is it dispossessed of the throne?"^y

King Hugh Capet sent ambassadors to Rome to de-

^u "Quod ei imprecatur pro felicibus contumeliosa, pro salutaribus pernicioso, pro honestis turpia, pro diuturnitate punctum, pro honore contemptum; et, ut totum concludatur, pro omnibus bonis omnia mala."—Richer. This valuable work of Richer was first discovered and published by Pertz. It has been re-edited and translated by the Historical Society of Paris.

^x "Patruo igitur miserescebat; illum cogitabat; illum colebat; illum pro parentibus carissimum habebat, apud quem collato consilio quærebat

quonam modo in culmen honoris provehere possit, sic tamen ut ipse regis desertor non appareret."

^y "O felix quondam et dulcis amice sub imperio patris mei Adalberonis! . . . Ille ego qui sub imperio beatæ memoriæ patris mei Adalberonis militaveram in scholâ omnium virtutum. Nunc regiam incolo aulam, cum sacerdotibus Dei vitæ verba conferar (conferam?). Nec ob amorem Karoli aut Arnulfi diutius passus sum fieri organum diaboli . . . pro mendacio."

mand the deposition of the perfidious and rebellious Arnulf. Heribert, Prince of Vermandois, with Charles of Lorraine, the chief of the Carlovingian faction, appeared in person on the other side. Heribert brought more cogent arguments: it was not only a beautiful white palfrey which he presented to the Pope, but more solid gifts in other quarters, to Crescentius, Lord of Rome. The ambassadors of King Hugh stood unhonoured and unheard at the doors of the Vatican. Gerbert was in dire perplexity. With unconscious effrontery he confides his own double dealing to his friend the Archbishop of Treves. He had pledged himself to King Hugh; he trembled at the power of Charles of Lorraine, still, with Arnulf, master of Rheims. But on the side of Hugh Capet were the offers of the education of his son Robert, and the archiepiscopate.² He sent his letter of repudiation to Arnulf, yet with strange simplicity he entreated Arnulf to take under his special care certain houses which he had built in Rheims.^a He had now discovered that Arnulf had been raised by simoniacal, and therefore heretical means. Arnulf's apostacy from his lord the king reveals all his diabolical wickedness. Gerbert becomes aware that Arnulf was a plunderer, a spoiler, not an administrator of the See. Gerbert's perceptions may have been quickened by the synod of French bishops at Senlis, which declared the

Difficulties
of Gerbert.

A.D. 939.

* "Pervenit, beatissime Pater, gladius usque ad animam. Hinc fide promissi Regibus Francorum urgemur, hinc potestate Principis Karoli, regnum ad se revocantis adducti, permutare dominos aut exules fieri cogimur."—Epist. xiv. In another letter: "Dicimus tacenda, tacemus dicenda; agi-

mur quod volumus, quod volumus nequimus."—Epist. xi. He consoles himself that he never actually *swore* allegiance but to the Emperor Otho: "Nulli mortalium unquam aliquando juris jurandum præbui nisi D. M. Othoni."

* "Libellus repudii."—Epist. xxiv

monk priest Adelgar, who had opened the gates of Rheims to Charles of Lorraine, then under the ban of the Church, and the Bishops of Rheims and Laon out of communion.

The betrayal of Arnulf by Adalberon of Laon into the hands of King Hugh Capet is a scene of treachery and impiety unparalleled even in those days. Adalberon, as Gerbert's letter shows, had been but now on the Carolingian side. He was the prelate accused of adulterous intercourse with Emma, wife of King Lothair; now, his widow, it was asserted by some, through poison administered by her episcopal paramour.^b Charles of Lorraine and Arnulf the Archbishop were committed to several prisons.

King Hugh Capet waited not his tardy, it might be unsuccessful, appeal to Rome. A council was Council of Rheims, July 17, 921. instantly summoned in the monastery of St. Basolus at Rheims. The Archbishops of Sens and Bourges, eleven bishops, a great number of abbots took their seats; they sate as feudal nobles, as well as prelates of the Church, to adjudge the crime of treason, as well as to depose the Metropolitan. The long formal procedure for the degradation of Arnulf contrasts with the easy and rapid transference of the kingly power from the Carolingian to the Capetian dynasty. To depose an Archbishop of Rheims was an affair of difficulty and intricacy, compared with the dethronement of a king of France.^c

^b It is just to observe that Richer relates the death of Lothair as natural. See also the pathetic letter of Queen Emma to the Empress Adelheid: "My hope was in my son (Louis le Fainéant, now dethroned by Hugh Capet); he is become my enemy. . . . They have invented infamous charges against the

Bishop of Laon."—Richer, iv. 61.

^c The acts of the Council of Rheims were drawn up by Gerbert. Baronius pours forth a torrent of indignation against him, whom even the papal dignity does not exculpate from the sin of having presumed in this Council to deny or to limit the pontifical power.

Mystery of Iniquity." Had visions crossed the bold mind of Gerbert of a kind of Transalpine papacy at Rheims? If so, disappointment came upon him with his greatness. For the council, not content with the degradation of Arnulf, placed Gerbert on the vacant cathedral throne.

The form of Gerbert's election is remarkable. It is by the bishops, who complain that on a former Gerbert Archbishop. occasion they were compelled by popular clamour, popular clamour that once cried, "Crucify him, crucify him!" to make an unworthy choice. It was no boy whom they now deliberately chose, but a man of mature age, known to them from his youth; of profound learning and piety. Gerbert's confession of faith is still more extraordinary. On the Trinity, and other points of doctrine, it is elaborately orthodox. He adds: "I prohibit not marriage; I condemn not second marriages. I do not blame the eating of flesh. I acknowledge that reconciled penitents should be admitted to communion. All sins original, as well as voluntary, are washed away by baptism. I believe no one can be saved out of the Catholic church. I confirm the four great councils."*

Gerbert had been advanced, unwillingly, if his own words are to be credited, to the archiepiscopal see. But his election was unpopular; the people were indignant at the bishops assuming the election; the severity of his morals offended the looser clergy; the want of

* Gfrörer, with his customary too great ingenuity, makes out of this convenient adulation to the family of Hugh Capet a design to throw off the Pope, and assert the absolute independence of the Gallican Church. The clergy were to be won by the permission of marriage. It reads to me more like a renunciation of Manicheism, which Gerbert may have thought necessary or expedient. — Gfrörer, p. 1462.

birth was an inextinguishable delinquency with the high-born prelates. He was accused as having betrayed, imprisoned his master, and violated his spouse, that is, usurped his church.^f Adalberon, the perfidious Bishop of Laon, envied the advancement of Gerbert; to dethrone his rival he entered into negotiations with the German Court of Otho, from which Gerbert, by throwing himself into the interest of Hugh Capet, had undesignedly estranged himself. Theophania, the Greek Empress mother, was now dead; Adelheid, his grandmother, or the boy Emperor, Otho III., demanded a legate from Pope John XV. to reverse the iniquitous sentence pronounced against Arnulf, and the promotion of Gerbert. It was time for the Papal See, even at its lowest state of degradation, to assert its trembling authority, to assert that authority at the summons, and therefore under the protection of the imperial house of Saxony. Leo, the abbot of St. Boniface in Rome, appeared as the papal legate to adjudge this great cause, conjointly with the Bishops of France and Germany.

On the first menace of the papal interference, the French prelates, who met at a place called Chela, seemed resolute in the assertion of their liberties. But the papal legate was a man of courage and ability equal to the occasion. The Roman abbot Leo promulgated an answer to the harangue of the Bishop of Orleans at Rheims.^g This remarkable document (but lately come to light) strikes in its outset at Gerbert as the author of the speech of the Bishop of Orleans at

Fall of
Gerbert,
A.D. 995.

A.D. 991.

^f "Ut major fiat invidia, obloquitur, Dominum tuum tradidisti, carceri mancipasti, sponsam ejus rapuisti, sedem pervasisti."

^g It has been published by Pertz. *Monumenta Germaniæ*, iii. 686.—Hoeck's Life of Gerbert was written before the publication of this, and of Richer.

Rheims. "The acts of your synod, which have been delivered to me, fill me with abhorrence. Truly is the word of the Lord fulfilled in you, 'There shall be many anti-Christ's;' so know we that the last day is at hand. Christ, who cannot lie, has said that the blessed Peter is the foundation of your churches, yet say your anti-Christ's that in Rome there is now but a temple of idols, an image of stone. „Because the vicars of Peter and their disciples will not have for their teachers a Plato, a Virgil, a Terence, and the rest of the herd of philosophers, who soar aloft like the birds of the air, or dive into the depths like the fishes of the sea; ye say that they are not worthy to be doorkeepers, because they know not how to make verses. Peter is indeed a doorkeeper—but of heaven." Thus abbot Leo repels the charge of ignorance; to that of gross venality his answer is certainly not that of Italian address. "Did not the Saviour receive gifts of the wise men?" He does not deny the crimes charged against Popes, but urges the warning example of Ham, accursed for uncovering his father's nakedness. He asserts that the prerogative of the See of Rome is from God himself; it cannot be annulled, or transferred to any other see. To the asseveration of the revolt of Asia, Africa, and Spain from the Roman See, he avers that it is utterly false, and declares that ambassadors from Alexandria, Jerusalem, Carthage, Cordova, have but lately paid homage, and consulted the See of Rome.

Whether through the presence or the arguments of the papal legates, or the countenance of the Court of Otho, or the interests or the apprehensions of Hugh Capet of France (he died the next year), Gerbert stood alone at Moisson before a synod of

Abbot Leo
Legate.

A.D. 995.

but a few German prelates,^h Ludolf of Treves, Notkar of Liège, Siegfried of Munster, Haimo of Verdun. The papal legate sat in the centre. The Bishop of Verdun, as understanding it might seem alone A.D. 996. among these Teutonic bishops, the Gaulish (the Roman tongue), opened the session. Gerbert made an eloquent speech, but to an adverse court. The legate pronounced the sentence of interdict from communion, and from the exercise of his episcopal functions. Gerbert boldly overwhelmed them with citations from the canons, that such interdict against a man convicted of no crime was illegal. The council adjourned the final decree.

Gerbert contemplated further resistance. The future Pope in a letter to the Archbishop of Sens utters these un-Roman doctrines,—“Rome cannot make lawful that which God condemns, nor condemn that which God has made lawful. Rome cannot expel from her communion him who is convicted of no crime. The papal decrees are only of force when they concur with the Evangelists, the Apostles, the Prophets, and the genuine canons of the Church.”ⁱ

But deserted by all, shunned as under interdict,^k he thought it wisest at length to bow before the storm. He retired from France to the court of the Emperor Otho. There, however, degraded from his archiepiscopate, it might seem through the imperial interest, Gerbert ceased not to be the ecclesiastic most distinguished for knowledge and erudition north of the Alps,

^h Concilium Moisson., compared with the last chapters of Richer.

ⁱ Epistol. Arch. Senonen.

^k Compare his letter to the Empress Adelheid: “Memini enim meos cou-

spirasse non solum milites, sed et clericos, ut nemo mecum comederet, nemo sacris interesset.”—Epist. c. 411. A third rival candidate for the archiepiscopate was in the field, Gebuin.

perhaps in Christendom. He resumed all his old honour and respect; the court of Otho was proud of his presence; the spell of his powerful mind was cast on the young and ambitious Otho. One step towards the height of power had been made, and he had fallen back; he was ere long to make the other two.^m

We return from this long but necessary episode, the life of Gerbert, to the magnificent schemes of Otho III. for the restoration of the empire in its transcendent Cæsarean power to Rome; of the popedom in its boundless, but strictly spiritual dignity.

Gerbert was now again free to follow with undivided devotion the fortunes of the Imperial House. France had cast him off: he was the vassal of Otho. He joined the great assemblage of prelates, and accompanied his imperial master to Italy. There the Archbishop of Ravenna having retired to monastic seclusion, Gerbert, though a Transalpine, was raised at once to the second see of Italy.ⁿ On the death of Gregory V. Otho could find no prelate so likely to enter into, or to carry out (if Gerbert's influence had not first suggested, and constantly kept alive) his magnificent visions, as the man who stood alone as the most eminent prelate of his age, in learning peerless, in piety unimpeachable, Gerbert of Ravenna. Gerbert took the significant name of Silvester II., the new Silvester of the new Constantine.

The decree for the election of Gerbert issued by the

^m Read the skilful letter to the Emperor Otho: "Scio me divinitatem in multis offendisse et offendere. . . . Tribus ut ita dicam sæculi ætatibus vobis, patri, avo, inter hostes et tela fidem purissimam exhibui."—Epist. **xxx.** The famous lines are ascribed

to Gerbert himself. Scandit ad R. (Rheims) Gerbertus, ad R. (Ravenna) Post, Papa viget R. (Rome).

ⁿ Gregory V. grants the pall to Gerbert, as Archbishop of Ravenna. April 28, 998.

Emperor developes the designs of Otho and of his Pope. "In the name of the Holy Trinity, Otho the servant of the Apostles, by the will of God the Saviour, Emperor of the Romans: We declare Rome to be the capital of the world, the Roman Church the mother of the churches; but the dignity of the Roman Church has been obscured by her neglectful and ignorant pontiffs; they have alienated the property of the Church without the city to the dregs of mankind^o (these were the feudatory princes of the Roman States), made everything venal, and so despoiled the very altars of the apostles. These prelates have thrown all law into confusion; they have endeavoured to retrieve their own dilapidations by the spoliation of us; they have abandoned their own rights to usurp those of the empire." He denounces the donations of Constantine and of Charlemagne as prodigal and unwise; he assumes the power not merely of electing, but by God's grace of creating and ordaining the Pope. Finally, he grants eight counties to the Pope—Pesaro, Fano, Senigaglia, Ancona, Fossambruno, Osimo, Cagli, and Iesi.^p

But ungrateful Rome seemed loth to enter into the lofty schemes of the Emperor for her aggrandisement; the presence and the power of the Emperor did not overawe her conflicting factions. The feudatory nobles of the neighbourhood might well resent the denunciations and suspect the power of their new lord. Tibur broke out in rebellion; the lord of that

Rome
revolts.

^o See the comminatorium of Gerbert to the neighbouring barons, whom he accuses of slaying priests, robbing the Church and the poor.—Epist. ii. xli. Gerbert had the high satisfaction of magnanimously condescending, as Pope, to reinvest his old rival Arnulf in his

full archiepiscopal rights and honours.—Epist. ii. lv. Dec. 999.

^p The decree names only seven: Pisaurum, Fanum, Senigalliam, Anconam, Fossimbrunum, Gallihesem, Ausimium. Is the last but one made out of Cagli and Iesi?

city was the kinsman of Crescentius and the ancestor of that line of counts who in the next century created and unmade popes. Tibur was compelled to yield to the overpowering force of Otho: but on his return to Rome Otho found the gates closed. He ascended a tower near the walls, addressed the people in the prophetic language of expostulation, reminded them of his attachment, of his plans for their aggrandisement. They yielded probably rather to the terror of his arms than to the force of his eloquence. The gates were opened, and again they swore allegiance to their irresistible sovereign. But at this very moment the dire tragedy was hastening

Stephania.

to its close. No Nemesis more awful ever darkened the stage of Grece. Stephania, the wife of Crescentius, had, on his fall, been abandoned to the brutal lust of the German soldiers.¹ With stern self-command she suppressed her indignation, her loathing, within her heart. At the end of three years she had nursed up her fatal beauty to its old exquisite lustre. Otho himself, the religious Otho, was caught in her toils, which she spread with consummate art. She scrupled not to ascend the bed of her husband's murderer. With Stephania vengeance was cheaply bought at such a price. She feigned the passionate love of a mistress, till the opportunity came of administering a subtle poison.² In Italy such poisons were too well

¹ "Stephania autem uxor ejus traditur adulteranda Teutonicis."—Arnulf, c. 12. Höfler kills her of this ill usage.

² "Incidit in insidias mulieris malæ, cujus virum Crescentium jusserat capitalem subire sententiam, quam formæ elegantissimæ nimis insipienter thoro suo socians, ab eâ veneno intra cubiculum dormians, infectus est."—

Vit. S. Meinwerici apud Leibnitz, p. 521. Compare Ann. Saxo. Leo Ostiens., Landulf senior, Radulph. Glaber. The modern German writers, zealous for the honour of Otho, seem inclined to doubt this story. Muratori accepts it. It seems to me to rest on as good authority as most events of the time.

known, and here there seems convincing evidence to the truth of this crime, throughout Italian history always suspected, always credited, yet rarely with stronger proof than suspicion. The hand of death was upon the bright, hopeful youth. He withdrew from Rome, either expelled by a new insurrection secretly guided by Gregory of Tusculum, or with his constitution shattered by the poison administered through the hand of Stephanian: he withdrew, not to collect his faithful troops and crush the rebellious city, but as a penitent to deplore and expiate his sins. His countenance was still cheerful to his faithful adherents; but his time was spent in tears, in prayer, in almsgiving. Already had he made a pilgrimage in the preceding year to atone for his perfidious execution of the Consul Crescentius, and his cruelty to Pope John XIV. Heaven, it is to be hoped, was more merciful than the wife of Crescentius. Deeply must Otho, cut off at the age of twenty-two years, have rued his fatal connexion with Rome, which neither terror could control, nor the hopes of her restoration to glory propitiate to a Transalpine sovereign. The world, especially the Transalpine world, deplored the untimely fate of this promising prince, who seemed destined for nobler ends. Rome might seem to crown her wickedness by this last unequalled crime.*

* Höfler has published a curious popular poem on the death of Otho, and the election of Henry II. The following are stanzas:—

“ Quis dabit aquam capiti?
 Quis succurret pauperi?
 Quis dabit fontes oculis?
 Lacrymosis populis
 Sufficientes lacrymæ (as)
 Mala mundi plangere?
 Ad triumphum ecclesiæ
 Cœpit Otto crescere:

Sumsit Otto Imperium
 Ut floreret seculum.
 Vivo Ottone tertio
 Salus fuit populo.

• • • • •

Plangat ignitus Oriens,
 Crudus ploret Occidens:
 Sit Aquilo in cinere,
 Planctus in Meridie.
 Sit mundus in tristitia,
 Nostra luge cithara.
 Plangat mundus, plangat Roma
 Lugeat Ecclesia.

The faithful Pope Silvester had followed the Emperor in his retreat from Rome; he returned to Rome after his death. But Gerbert had seen three generations of Saxon Emperors expire in sad succession: the next year he followed them to the tomb.^t Popular rumour attributed, if not his death, yet a grievous malady, to the same remorseless Stephania. He is said to have lost his voice by poison, which she contrived to have administered to him.^u Such were the crimes believed in those days to be perpetrated, if not actually perpetrated on holy Popes and on Emperors. All the magic art which fame attributed to Gerbert furnished no antidote. But Pope Silvester, throughout the following ages, was remembered with a kind of awful misgiving, with shuddering horror, lest the throne of St. Peter should have been occupied by a necromancer,^x by a man whose wonderful

Sit nullum Romæ canticum,
Uliet palatium.
Sub Cæsaris absentia
Sunt turbata sæcula."

Beiträge, xvi. p. 331.

On the other hand Bonizo, the Bishop of Sutri, expressing no doubt a strong Italian feeling of the time, condemns Otho to hell, for his cruelty to Pope John of Ravenna: "Domino odibilis sine viatico vitam finivit . . . Quo mortuo et in infernum sepulto."—*Liber ad. Amic. iv.*

^t Otho died Jan. 22, 1002; Silvester, May 12, 1003.

^u "Veneficio ejusdem mulieris etiam Papa Romanus gravatus asseritur; ita ut loquendi usum amiserit."—*Ann. Saxo.*

^x William of Malmesbury is full on the magical arts and enchantments of Gerbert. He stole his book of glamour; his miserable death is the

indubitable proof that the accusations of magic and doing homage to the devil are true (pp. 275, 284). Such was the belief in remote Britain. A more brief funeral oration cannot be imagined than that in the Vit. Pontif. Ravennat.: "Homagium diabolo fecit et male finivit."—p. 207.

But compare Hist. Lit. de la France and Vincent of Beauvais in his *Encyclopædia of the Middle Ages*. Gerbert in Spain, the land of necromancers, fell in love with the daughter of one of those accursed doctors: he stole his books. The magician, by the aid of the stars, pursued the robber. But Gerbert too had learned to read the stars. By their counsel he lay hid under a bridge, through the arches of which rushed the roaring waters. The devil descended, and bore him

powers could only have been attained through a compact with the Evil one.

away on his wings beyond the sea; with the design of establishing at a future time, by an awful delusion, one of his own abhorred supporters on the chair of the chief apostle.

Modern readers will be more struck with wonder at Gerbert's organ, which *wart by steam*: "Ipse Gerbertus fecit

arte mechanicâ horologium et organa hydraulica, ubi mirum in modum, per aquæ calefactæ violentiam, implet ventus emergens concavitatem barbatî (barbiti?) et per multos foratiles tractus æreæ fistulæ modulatos clamores emittunt."—Vincent Bellov. Spec. Hist. xxiv. c. 98.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Tusculan Popes.

THE first attempt to rescue the papacy from the hands of the turbulent patricians or fierce populace of Rome, to open to the whole Western Church the appointment to the supreme headship of Western Christendom, had ended in failure. Nearly another half century must elapse before Transalpine Christendom, by asserting her right of supplanting a line of degenerate Italian pontiffs by men more worthy of the high office, shall compel Italy, in her turn, to bring forth and to train men who, through their commanding abilities, win back the lost tiara, and revenge Italy for her temporary obscurity by reducing beneath her feet the rebellious Teutonic Church and even the Western Empire.

Three undistinguished popes, John XVII., who lived less than six months after his election, John XVIII., and Sergius IV., ruled for ten years of obscurity.^a The contest for the kingdom between Ardoïn, Marquis of Ivrea, whom the Italians had chosen on the death of Otho, and the Emperor Henry II., was decided in the north of Italy. All the great prelates of the north espoused the imperial interest^b—Tibald, Marquis and Archbishop of Ravenna, the Bishops of Modena, Verona, and Vercelli openly

^a John XVII., June 13, Dec. 7, 1003; John XVIII., Dec. 25, 1003, June, 1009; Sergius, July, 1009, died 1012, June 16.

^b Adelbert in Vit. S. Henrici.

maintained, the Archbishop of Milan, the Bishops of Cremona, Piacenza, Pavia, Brescia, and Como hardly disguised their inclinations to, the same cause. The Pope alone seems to have stood aloof in unregarded insignificance. Rome, abandoned to herself, had resumed her republican constitution. The family of Crescentius had risen again to power. John, the son of the beheaded consul,^c whether through the prevailing interest of Stephania, or by the solicitude of Otho to win popularity in Rome, had been created prefect of the city under the Emperor. On Otho's death he assumed the title of Patrician, and ruled the city and the Popes with arbitrary power.^d

But adverse as it may be safely conjectured, and rival to the lineal descendant of Crescentius, had risen the Counts of Tusculum. These counts ^{Counts of Tusculum.} were also descended from Marozia and Alberic, and closely connected, being a younger branch of the same family, with the house of Crescentius. The Counts of Tusculum had resisted Otho III. in the zenith of his power. A strong faction in Rome were jealous of the Tusculans, and reproached Otho for his blind clemency in not razing to the ground that dangerous and rebellious fortress, which was in too close neighbourhood to Rome. Possibly a temporary junction between these two great rival houses led to the perilous state of things, which induced the dying Otho to leave the impracticable, if not insurgent city. The Counts of Tusculum seemed to have attached themselves to the new Imperial House which succeeded to that of Saxony. They governed Rome by less violent means than the Crescentii, whose power they gradually supplanted; they bought the venal

^c See the genealogy in Höfler.

^d "Destructor Apostolicæ sedis."—Thietmar, A.D. 1012.

people, and appointed Popes by the most open simony. The Papacy became an appanage of their family; they had almost succeeded, had they not blindly abused their influence, in rendering it hereditary. Three Popes in succession from this powerful family became the heads of Christendom.

The first of these, Benedict VIII., did not ascend the throne without opposition. Gregory, an anti-pope, was set up by the adverse party, possibly by the patrician Crescentius. Benedict fled for protection and support into Germany to the Emperor Henry II., who had now made great progress in the reduction of Ardoïn, his rival for the kingdom of Italy. The price of protection was the usual one—the gift of the imperial crown in Rome. But some peaceful revolution, brought about possibly by the terror of the Emperor, or the reconciliation of the Counts of Tusculum with John the Patrician (the Crescentius), permitted Benedict to return to Rome and resume his full pontifical rights.* When Henry II. appeared in Rome, Benedict received him, according to ancient usage, on the steps of St. Peter's. The Patrician John showed all outward signs of homage to the Transalpine, laid splendid presents at his feet, and made more splendid promises; yet in secret he endeavoured, but in vain, to impede the coronation of the Emperor.^f Nevertheless the coronation took place.^g

* The time of Benedict's return was unknown to Muratori. In 1012 he is granting privileges to German prelates. He was at a synod with the Emperor at Ravenna, Jan. 1014. His return must then have been in 1012.

^f "Apostolicæ sedis destructor, muneribus suis et promissionibus pha-

leratis regem palam honoravit, sed Imperatoriæ dignitatis fastigium eum ascendere multum timuit, omnimodisque id prohibere clam tentavit."—Thietmar, 1014.

^g The coronation the 24th or 14th of Feb. Muratori, sub ann. 14 Feb. Jaffé.

Henry displayed and exercised all the rights of sovereignty, coined money with his own superscription, and administered justice in his own name. Benedict ruled in peace. John Crescentius still held the office of Prefect of the city; Alberic, the brother of July 1014. the Pope, was Consul and Senator.^h Yet even from a Crescentius, described as son of Count Benedict, the Pope wrested estates, which, when Consul, the Crescentius had seized, belonging to the famous monastery of Farfa. The spoiler was summoned before the Pope's tribunal; for Benedict wanted neither ability nor courage, at least that of a secular prince. By his activity and personal prowess a powerful armament of Saracens, which had landed in the territory of Pisa at Luna, was attacked and cut off almost to a man. The king only escaped; the queen was taken; her head-dress of gold and jewels, worth 1000 pounds, was sent as a present by the Pope to the Emperor Henry. The indignant Saracen, it is said, sent a large bag of A.D. 1016. chestnuts to the Pope, with a billet, "I will return with as many valiant Saracens to the conquest of Italy." The undaunted Pope sent him back a bag of millet. "As many brave warriors as there are grains will appear at my bidding to defend their native land."ⁱ The Pope more than maintained his lofty language: his legate was sent to Pisa and to Genoa, urging those Defeat of Saracens by the Pope. cities, now rising into mercantile importance and power, not to endure the possession of an Italian

^a Compare a Placitum published by Mabillon, Ann. Benedict. subann. 1016.

ⁱ Thietmar, vii. 31. Muratori conjectures the king to have been Mugello, who had possession of Sardinia. His summons to the troops

was "ut inimicos Christi secum circumferant." The Pope claimed the queen's head-dress, the "*spolia opima, aurum capitale, ejusdem (reginæ) ornamentum* Papa sibi præ ceteris vindicavit."

island by the unbeliever. The united forces of these two cities expelled the Saracens from Sardinia, but they quarrelled about the spoil. The Pisan annalist claims the investiture of the island by the Pope for his city, which retained the sovereignty.^k Benedict maintained his amicable relations with the Emperor Henry II.

A.D. 1020. The Pope visited the Emperor at Bamberg;

during the next year the Emperor descended into Italy. The Pope and the Emperor had a common enemy, the Greeks of Apulia and the south of Italy. The Greeks, seconded by the Prince of Capua and some of the southern chieftains, had taken the aggressive; in possession of Capua they would have threatened Rome

A.D. 1021. herself. At this time Rodolf, a Norman, with

some few followers, half adventurers driven from their native lands, half pilgrims to the shrine of the apostles, appeared at Rome. The martial Pope enlisted them in his cause, and garrisoned with them the strong fortress on the Garigliano; the forces of the Emperor overran Apulia. His general, Poppone, Archbishop of Aquileia, besieged and took Capua; the prince was at the mercy of Henry, who hardly respected a safe-conduct given by the Archbishop of Cologne. Troja, after an obstinate siege, surrendered. Henry was prepared to wreak his revenge on the city: he was melted to tears by a saintly hermit coming forth from the gates with the children of the city in procession, chanting Kyrie Eliéson! The Emperor and the Pope visited together the monastery of Monte Casino. The Emperor was relieved from excruciating pains, which he was suffering, by the intercession of St. Benedict; he

^k *Annali Pisani*, p. 107.

rewarded the saint by ample donations to the monastery.^m

On the death of Benedict VIII., the Tusculan house by the same quiet but unresisted influence, undisguised bribery, elevated the brother of Benedict, a layman and prefect of the city, to the papal throne.ⁿ The Emperor Henry II. died in the course of the same year. For nine uneventful years the power which had created, maintained John XIX. in peaceable possession of the papal throne. Between two and three years elapsed before Conrad the Salic, the successor of Henry II., could journey to Rome to receive the Imperial crown. His coronation was the important affair of the Pontificate of John. It was attended (so great was still the reverence for Rome in the remoter parts of Europe) by two pilgrim kings, present to behold the eternal city, and to do homage to the chair, to the religion, to the successor of St. Peter. These were Rudolf III. of Burgundy, and Canute the Danish king of England. The ceremony did not pass off without tumult. A fierce fray took place between the barbarous and undisciplined Germans and the turbulent Romans; it ended in a great slaughter of the Romans. The leaders were compelled to appear before the haughty Emperor in the garb of penitents, with naked feet; the free men with their

Jan. 28, 1024.

John XIX.
Aug. 1, 1024,
to April 7,
1033.

Conrad the
Salic.

March 26,
1027.

^m Radolf. Glaber. The *religious* Pope, with the *religious* Emperor, at a synod at Pavia, passed decrees strictly prohibiting the growing usage of the marriage of the clergy; no clerk might have wife or concubine; no bishop have a female in his dwelling; the sons and daughters of clerks were slaves of the Church; anathema on

him who adjudges them to be free.—Pertz, Leges, ii. 561.

ⁿ "Uno eodemque die et laicus et pontifex fuit."—Romualdi. Salern. Chron. S. Muratori, H. It. vii. "Qui uno eodemque die præfectus fuit et Papa." This clause had been erased, but was restored in the MS. of Bonizo.

swords unsheathed, the slaves with osier cords round their necks, as if deserving to be hanged.^o Another tumult more characteristic broke out between two Eriberts, archbishops of Ravenna and Milan. Each claimed the privilege of standing at the right hand of the Emperor. The decision, as might be expected, was against the Prelate of Ravenna, the old traditionary antagonist of the Pope. Eribert of Ravenna boldly took the place; the Prelate of Milan wished to avoid an open rupture. The Emperor, by the advice of the Pope, withdrew his hand from that of the Archbishop, and summoned the Bishop of Vercelli to his right hand. But Eribert of Ravenna still persisted in his right: the followers of the two archbishops came to blows, and the Ravennese was obliged to fly. A council asserted the right of the Archbishop of Milan, but Ravenna defied the decree both of Pope and council.

The hereditary papacy in the House of Tusculum, if
 Jan. 1033. it had debased the Holy See by men of rapacity and violence, had yet maintained the peace of Rome for twenty years, and their Popes as secular princes had not been wanting in energy and vigour. Now as though their object had been to reduce it to the lowest contempt, or as if, although the older and more able branches of the family disdained or would not submit even to the outward restraints of the office, nevertheless they would not allow the dignity to depart from their house; by their irresistible gold they secured the Pontificate for a boy not more than ten or twelve years old, the nephew of his predecessors, Benedict and John.^p

^o Wippo, Vit. Conrad Salici.

^p "Puer ferme decennis, intercedente thesaurorum pecunia, electus extitit a Romanis."—Radolfus Glaber, iv. c. 5.

Benedict IX. had all the vices of a youth born to uncontrolled power; the Papacy had to endure the evils without the counteracting advantages of hereditary monarchy. In Italy, more especially in Rome, this transmission of the grace of the priesthood, or the spiritual power of the Supreme Pontificate through the worst and most licentious of mankind, seemed to jar on no strong religious sensitiveness, to rouse no general remonstrance of indignation. No vice could interrupt the descent of power imparted, according to its own proper theory, for the extirpation of vice: so entirely had that which was outward and formal prevailed over the inward and moral conception of Christianity. Beyond the Alps, at least in the remoter parts of Western Christendom, the individual Pope was merged in his office. The revolutions in Rome disturbed not the ideal sanctity with which the religious imagination arrayed the successor of St. Peter. In some cases the writers in Germany, though ecclesiastics, seem to have been ignorant of the name of the ruling Pope. For twelve years Benedict IX., under the protection of his powerful kindred, ruled in Rome, in the words of one of his successors, Victor III., leading a life so shameful, so foul, and execrable, that he shuddered to describe it.^a He ruled like a captain of banditti, rather than a prelate. Adulteries, homicides perpetrated by his own hand, passed unnoticed, unrevenged; for the patrician of the city, Gregory, was the brother of

Benedict IX.

^a "Benedictus ille nomine, non factis, cujusdam Alberici filius (Magi potius Simonis, quam Simonis Petri vestigia sectatus) non parvâ a Patre in populum profligatâ pecuniâ, summum sibi sacerdotium vindicavit.

Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quam execranda extiterit, horresco referre."—Victor III., Dialog. lib. iii. apud Mabillon, Act. S. S. Benedict. sec. iv.

the Pope; another brother, Peter, an active partisan. Once, according to one doubtful authority, he had been already expelled, but replaced by the Emperor Conrad the Salic.^r The oppressed people at length grew weary of his robberies, murders, and abominations. They rose

A.D. 1044.

April 10.

and drove him from the city, and proceeded to the election of John Bishop of Sabina, who took the name of Silvester III. But they had sold themselves to the Tusculan tyranny, and were not permitted to shake it off; the Consuls were partisans, doubtless kindred of the Pope; Benedict returned in triumph; the anti-Pope retired in disgrace and excommunicated to his bishopric. Benedict himself grew weary of his office, or despaired of maintaining it, or perhaps put it up to auction with no intent of fulfilling the contract. According to another by no means incredible story,^s he was deeply enamoured of his cousin, the daughter of Gerard de Saxo (of the rock), master perhaps of some strong hill fortress. The father refused his daughter, unless the Pope would surrender the papacy. He actually sold the papacy to an arch-Presbyter, named John,^t of the same house, who assumed the name of Gregory VI. John, the arch-Presbyter, was a man of learning for his day, of unimpeachable chastity, now become in Rome so rare as to be called an angelic virtue. By his own admission he had heaped up enormous wealth, which he intended to dedicate to pious uses. Among these pious uses (according to this Didius Julianus of the Papacy) was his own advancement. Not only did he pay a large sum to

^r Radolfus Glaber, sub ann. 1038.

^s Bonizo, ad Ann.

^t "Joanni Archipresbytero non
ca: vâ ab eo acceptâ pecuniâ, summum

sacerdotium tradidit." — Victor III.,
Dialog. lib. iii. "Ejusdem pontificatus
per cartulam refutavit Johanni sue
patrino."

Benedict himself, he confessed the purchase of the suffrages of the people: it was a pious use to restore the right of election to its lawful owners. Such acts ascribed to Gregory VI. throw some light on these times of darkness and confusion. It is natural to inquire into the sources of this enormous wealth by which the Counts of Tusculum had so long retained the Roman people in their pay. It is probable that the papacy was enslaved by its own wealth: that this powerful house had obtained by forcible or fraudulent alienation large parts of the estates of the Church. Gregory had bought the papacy; but it was not a barren and impoverished see which he coveted.* He devoted himself immediately to the recovery of the ecclesiastical possessions at the point of the sword; and to the suppression of another great source of revenue to the turbulent barons of Rome and the neighbourhood, the plunder of the pilgrims to Rome. These pilgrims, who still flocked on with unwearied zeal to the Holy City, arrived, instead of opulent and munificent votaries at the sacred shrines, miserable and plundered beggars. So entirely was Pope Gregory occupied in these achievements, that the Roman people gave him a colleague to officiate, when he was engaged in war, within the Church.†

* It is strange enough to find Peter Damiani (he was but young) rejoicing in the accession of Gregory VI. as the future extirpator of simony. "*Lætentur cœli . . . conteratur jam milleforme caput venenati serpentis: cesset commercium perversæ negotiationis: nullam jam monetam falsarius Simon in ecclesia fabricet.*"—*Epist.* i. 1. Compare *Epist.* ii.

† According to William of Malmesbury, on Roman affairs no high autho-

rity, these sanguinary occupations of the Pope disqualified him in the eyes of the Romans for his holy office. The Romans would have been the last to take offence at such exploits in a Pope. But a strong anti-Tusculan party may have felt so much interest in the recovery of the estates of the Church from those lawless barons, and in the security of the roads, by which the pilgrims might reach Rome with their wealth, that they may

There were now three Popes, by themselves or by their factions engaged in deadly feud. They had laid aside, or had taught each other to despise, their spiritual arms; they encountered with the carnal weapons of ordinary warfare. For Benedict had not obtained his bride; Gerard de Saxo had joined the faction of Silvester III. Benedict's brother would not brook the obscuration of the house of Tusculum: they brought back, not unreluctant, the abdicated Pope and reinstated him on his throne. Benedict held the Lateran, Gregory Santa Maria Maggiore, Silvester St. Peter's and the Vatican.

Christendom could not longer be ignorant of, or endure this state of things. Peter the Archdeacon of Rome, commissioned by the vows and prayers of a great number of the clergy, the monks, and more devout people, crossed the Alps, and threw himself at the feet of the Emperor, imploring his succour. The Emperor Henry III. was called upon by his title to the Empire, by his own grave and religious character, by the open or the tacit summons of the pious throughout Europe, and even of those who respected the Church: he was implored, in popular verse, to dissolve this odious Trigamy of the Church,¹ and to interpose his irresistible authority. He crossed the Alps, and was received either with loud acclamations or with silent awe. At Piacenza, Gregory, supposing his own claims to the papacy irrefragable, ventured to meet him.² Henry gave no answer, but advanced to Sutri, about thirty

have acquiesced in the Pope's discharge of his sacred functions by a deputy.—William of Malmes. lib. ii.

¹ "Una Sunamitis nupsit tribus maritis,
Rex Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,
Solve connubium triforme dubium."

² Some writers, summed up by Luden (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. viii. p. 191), suppose a secret understanding between the Emperor and Pope Gregory.

miles north of Rome. There he assembled a Council of many prelates: among them were the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishop of Augsburg, and the Archbishop of Arles. In this Council he proceeded to examine the claims of the conflicting Popes. A.D. 1046.
Dec. 20. Silvester was condemned at once as an usurper, and delivered up, degraded from his holy orders, to be imprisoned for life in a monastery. Degradation
of Benedict
IX. and
Gregory VI. The voluntary abdication of Benedict annulled his claim.^a Gregory fondly thought that there was now no obstacle to his universal recognition. But he was called upon to give an account of his own election. He could not deny, he could not attempt to extenuate, the flagrant simony of those proceedings by which he had bought the papacy. He admitted his guilt, his disqualification, stripped off the pontifical robes, and intreating forgiveness, quietly surrendered up the papacy.^b He retired, not without compulsion, into a monastery in Germany; his involuntary companion in his exile was no less than the famous Hildebrand.^c

^a "Maximè cum ipse, Romanus Pontifex, se judicaverit deponendum."

^b "Ego Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, propter turpissimam venalitatem simoniacæ heræseos, quæ

antiqui hostis versutiâ meæ electioni irrepsit, a Romano episcopatu judicio me submovendum."—Bonizo. Victor in Dialog. lib. iii.

^c Muratori, sub ann. 1046

BOOK VI.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		GERMAN EMPERORS.		KINGS OF FRANCE.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1046 Clement II.	1047							
1048 Damasus II.								
1048 Leo IX.	1054	Constantine Mo- nomachus	1054					
1054 Victor II.	1057	1054 Theodora II.	1056		Henry III.	1056		
1057 Stephen IX.	1058	1056 Michael VI.	1057					
1058 Benedict X.	1059	1057 Isaac Com- nenus	1059		1056 Henry IV.			
1059 Nicola II.	1061	1059 Constantine Ducas	1069	1059 Constantine III.	1063		Henry I.	1061
1061 Alexander II.	1072	1068 Romanus Diogenes	1071	1063 John Xiphias	1073		1061 Philip I.	
1072 Gregory VII.		1071 Michael VII.						

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

The German Popes.

THE evil of the degraded papacy lay deeper: it was absolutely necessary to rescue it entirely and for ever from the Counts of Tusculum and the Barons of Rome. The only remedy was the appointment of a stranger. Murmurs were heard that no one could canonically be elected Pope, who had not been ordained Deacon and Priest in the Church of Rome. The insulting language of the Germans was, that in the whole Church there was scarcely one who was not disqualified either as illiterate, or as tainted with simony, or as living in notorious concubinage.^a

Suidger, the Bishop of Bamberg, was consecrated Pope at Sutri; the first Pope consecrated out of Rome.^b On the arrival of the Emperor at Clement II. Rome, the usual appeal was made to the Roman people whether they knew one worthier to be Pope. The German soldiers stood around; the people preserved an

^a "Neminem ad Romanum debere ascendere pontificatum, qui non in eâdem ecclesiâ presbyter et diaconus." --Bonizo, apud Oefelium. "Ut in tantâ ecclesiâ vix unus reperiri potuit, quin vel illiteratus, vel simoniacus, vel esset concubinator." Bonizo is a bad historian for the past, but an unexceptionable evidence of the violence of the Italian feelings against a German pope. Compare Leo Ostiens. and Victor III.

^b So at least says Bonizo. Compare Herman. Contract. A.D. 1096.

obsequious silence. The Bishop of Bamberg was led by Henry himself to the papal throne: the people seemed to assent by their acclamations.^c Suidger took the name of Clement II., the first, it might be hoped, of a new line of apostolic pontiffs, called after the immediate successor of St. Peter. Henry and his Empress Agnes received the imperial crown from the hands of the new Pope. The coronation was celebrated with unusual Christmas.
1046. pomp and solemnity. The Pope exacted from the religious Emperor, not merely the most full confession of faith, and the oath of fidelity and of protection to the Roman see, but of chastity, justice, humility, and charity. The Pope enforced on the Emperor, the Emperor with the most profound submission pledged himself in the face of heaven to observe these Christian virtues.^d

The first act of reformation, which the religious part of Christendom expected from the promotion of this blameless and holy stranger to the Roman see, was the summoning a Council at Rome to brand the all-prevailing vice of the times. Simony was condemned in Jan 1047. the strongest general terms and in all its various forms; but even this Council was obliged to mitigate its censure. The severer bishops proposed the absolute degradation of any one of their order who had been guilty of this sacrilegious sin; they were reduced to the melancholy confession, that the Church would be nearly deprived of all its pastors, since

^c If Benzo of Albi is to be believed, Henry told them to elect any one present. The Romans replied, that in the presence of the Emperor the election was not according to their will: "*Ubi adest præsentia regis, non est electionis consensus in arbitrio nostræ voluntatis.*" — Benzo, apud Menckenium, i. 393.

^d Cenni Monumenta, ii. 261, contains the ordo for the coronation of Henry and Agnes. Höfler devotes many pages to the ceremony, i. 236-250.

the ordination by a simoniacal bishop annulled the orders.^e Whoever was knowingly ordained by a simoniacal bishop, was bound not to exercise his functions till after forty days' penance. But Clement sat alone in his unworldly holiness; the Council, assembled to reform the Church, was interrupted, if not broken up, by a fierce dispute for precedence between the Archbishops of Ravenna, of Milan, and of Aquileia. The decision in favour of the German Archbishop of Ravenna, unpopular doubtless with the Italians, was confirmed by threats of excommunication against the other contumacious prelates, if they should renew the strife.^f Rome herself might seem impatient of foreign rulers. The fatal climate asserted her injured supremacy. Clement II. died before the close of the year.^g

A.D. 1047.
Oct. 9.

A bold attempt was made to reassert the claims of Benedict IX. He appeared in Rome under the protection of the Marquis of Tuscany, and held the pontificate for nine months. But he fled again on the first appearance of the new Pope environed by German soldiers: he had been abandoned by the Tuscan Marquis.^h For the obsequious clergy and people had in the meantime sent to Ger-

Benedict IX.
in Rome.
Nov. 8, 1047.

July 16,
1048.

* So universal was this crime, that the Abbot Guido, when Boniface of Tuscany, the father of Matilda, one of the most pious churchmen of the day, went to make his annual confession at the monastery of Pomposa, thought it right to scourge this vice out of the penitent —

"Sic de re Guido sacer abbas arguit, Immo Hunc Bonificacum, ne venderet amplius, ipsum.

Ante Dei Matris altare flagellat amaris Verberibus nudum, qui deliciis fuit usus.

Pomposa vovit tunc abbatique Guidoni, Ecclesiam nullam quod per se venderet unquam."—*Donizo*, l. 14.

^f Labb. Concil. sub ann.

^g I quote once for all the famous lines of Peter Damiani, applicable on so many German invasions of Rome:—"Roma vorax hominum, domat ardua colla virorum, Roma ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum, Romane febres stabili sunt jure fideles."

^h Vit. apud Murat. *Annal. Roman.*, p. 469.

many to submit themselves to the nomination of the Emperor.¹ Halinard, Archbishop of Lyons, declined the perilous advancement; the choice fell on Poppo, Bishop of Brixen. He had hardly time to Damasus II. Aug. 9, 1018. reach Rome, and to take the name of Damasus II., when he too fell a victim to the summer fever. This pontificate lasted but twenty-three days.^k

This rapid succession could not but give rise to reports of foul means, employed by the unscrupulous Italians to get rid of these strangers, no less dreaded for their austerity, than hated for their usurpation of the Roman rights. But Italy was overawed by the commanding character and unshaken authority of the Emperor Henry III. No secular power dared to offer resistance, there was no Cisalpine prelate, whose lofty piety and courageous sacerdotal dignity could venture, or warrant opposition. Rome and Italy again looked submissively to the Transalpine monarch for a successor to these two short-lived pontiffs.

Yet this absolute nomination to the papacy by the uncontrolled authority of the Emperor could not but alarm the jealous hierarchical spirit throughout Europe, as well as in Italy. The flagrant venality and vices of the Roman clergy might justify, for once or for a time, the intervention of the supreme secular power. The declared aversion of Henry to the dominant evil of

¹ It is said that Benedict IX., persuaded by the Abbot of Grotta Ferrata, retired into that monastery, repented of his sins, and died an exemplary monk. But S. Peter Damiani, on the authority of the Bishop of Capri, raises his ghost, to compel his successor to devote some of his ill-gotten wealth to the poor.—Opuscul. xiv. 3.

^k Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, received orders from the Emperor to conduct this bishop "full of Pride" to Rome, where in twenty days he died, body and soul.—Bonizo, p. 803. Was this merely the Italian hatred to a German pope, or some personal hostility of Bonizo? Either way it is characteristic.

simony, the lofty language which he used concerning the reformation of the Church, his own profoundly religious life, might tempt the most zealous churchmen to acquiesce in a despotism, commended by such results, and exercised so much for the honour and for the welfare of Christendom. But the clergy, ever as intuitively and sagaciously jealous to detect the secret encroachment of any principle dangerous to their power, as skilful in establishing any one favourable to their interest, were not off their guard. There was one, whose searching eyesight was watching, who was warning, and taking measures to awaken that dread of secular interference, which came even countenanced by such manifest and uncontested advantages. Hildebrand, in his exile in Germany, was steadily surveying the course of affairs.

The imperial choice fell upon a prelate, in whom, although of noble descent, and nearly allied to the Emperor,^m the churchman predominated Leo IX. over the subject of the empire. Though with such claims to the highest advancement, supported as it now too rarely was, with the fame of transcendent piety avouched by vision, wonder, and spiritual communion with the other world, Bruno had contented himself with the poor and humble bishopric of Toul.ⁿ There he was distinguished by his unimpeachable holiness, his gentleness to those below him (he constantly washed the feet of the poor), but no less by his inflexible assertion of all the rights and possessions of his see and the

^m The Emperor Conrad's mother and the father of Bruno were cousins german. Conrad spoke of his "*sanguineum et . . . affectum avitæ propinquitatis.*"—Wibert, Vit. Leon. IX. i. 18. ⁿ The early life of Bruno is related by his affectionate and admiring follower, Archdeacon Wibert, with its full portion of legendary marvel.—Apud Muratori, Script. Ital. iii.

privileges of his order. According to his affectionate biographer, his person was beautiful, his charity boundless, and he had a rare power of affecting his hearers as a preacher, even hardly less as officiating in the services of the church. He was accomplished in all the science of the time, especially in music. Nor did he altogether decline, or betray any want of capacity for secular affairs; he had interposed as ambassador in the disputes between the Empire and the kingdom of France; his negotiations had maintained the peace between Conrad and King Robert.

The Bishop of Toul might tremble at the awful responsibilities of the papacy.* As a pilgrim he had visited year after year the tombs of the Apostles; he knew Rome, he knew how uncongenial was her air to the German constitution, her manners to the austere virtue of a severe German prelate. Some natural dread, some misgivings as to the possibility of a complete reform may have mingled with the Christian humility which shrunk from the glorious burthen. Even after his reluctant consent, he absolutely refused to owe his election to the mere will of the Emperor; he would at the least have the outward show of free consent from the clergy and people of Rome. This strong hierarchical feeling was confirmed, it is said, by the refusal of Hildebrand, whose austere virtue and lofty churchmanship had begun to command notice, to accompany to Rome a Pope, chosen by the uncanonical appointment of a layman. In the strong language of Hildebrand, it was to appear as an apostate, not as an apostle.† Had it been suggested by no loftier motive,

* There is a recent prolix, and (Maintz, 1851). It contains, I think, somewhat feeble biography of Leo IX., nothing new.
by a zealous Roman Catholic, Hünkler

† Bonizo, apud Œfel, ii. p. 83. Com

nothing could have been more politic than this flattery to the pride of the Roman clergy and people. Whether he did not assume, or threw off by the advice of Hildebrand, the mitre and the purple robe, the Bishop of Toul did not travel to Rome as a pontiff, but as a pilgrim. His humble attire and demeanour attracted far more notice than the familiar pomp of a prelate. Multitudes crowded around him; it was rumoured that celestial music was heard, and that wonders attended upon his journey. The Teverone suddenly withdrew its overflowing waters to let him pass. He was met, as he drew near, barefooted, to Rome by the clergy and the people; but even then he would not ascend the papal throne without a solemn appeal to the semblance at least of an election, a recognition of his authority by what appeared to be free suffrages.¹

Nothing could contrast more strongly than the whole demeanour of Leo IX., such was the name he assumed, with the Italian popes, who had recently held the holy office. His first object was the restoration of the dilapidated church of St. Peter, and visits to the celebrated places of pilgrimage, Mount Garganus, and the monastery of St. Benedict, at Monte Casino. He had unexampled difficulties to struggle with. The wealthy See of Rome was reduced to the lowest state of poverty. The clergy had alienated the benefices to their own children, the barons had seized the estates; Pope John had plundered the churches; no pilgrims dared to approach with costly offerings. The money which Bruno

pare a long note of Theiner, *Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit*, v. ii. p. 6.

¹ One account, intended for panegyric, would convict him of downright

hypocrisy. He declared that he merely came to Rome as a pilgrim, to visit the tombs of the apostles.—*Lennix IX. Vit. a Nic. Arragon.*

nad brought from home was soon exhausted. His German followers showed a disposition to desert their poor master, of whose wealth as Pope they had doubtless entertained magnificent notions: a timely offering by some wealthy votaries from Benevento, who had heard of the Pope's virtues, relieved his immediate necessities. Public confidence was restored, the Pope went on performing all the great and imposing acts of his Office, the consecration of wealthy abbots, the confirmation of privileges to remote monasteries; and, doubtless, the grateful oblations began again to flow into the papal treasury. Of his measures to resume the usurped possessions of the church the records are silent. But the great object of his saintly care and ambition was the reformation of the corrupted church. He devoted himself to wage implacable war with the two dominant evils of his time, as they were esteemed by all zealous churchmen, simony and concubinage. A council met at Rome: again the severer prelates proposed by one sweeping interdict to annul the orders, and to degrade every clerical person who was any way implicated in simony, who had made any gift, payment, or contract to obtain a bishopric, or other office in the church.* But again it was found that the times would not endure these summary remedies. It would have deprived almost the whole of the clergy; and as, by annulling their orders, it rendered all their acts invalid, every sacrament, ordination, consecration; it absolutely interrupted, or rendered doubtful the whole spiritual succession of the order." The Pope, either from the gentle-

* On the notoriety of the simoniac proceedings at Rome:—

"*Hec sedes Apostolica
Orbis olim gloria,*

*Nunc, pro dolor ! efficitur
Officina Simonis."*

Damian, lib. iv. Epist. ix. p. 109.

* "*Ita ut non ex'um ab ipsis, sed*

ness of his disposition, or from the necessity of the times, was obliged to adopt more lenient measures, to accept certain penances from the delinquents, and on confession, humiliation, and absolution, to restore the offender to his function or dignity.

The general concubinage, or rather marriage of the clergy, no less embarrassed the austere reformers.¹ It was determined that the clergy of Rome should no longer live scattered about in private houses, but in colleges or separate dwellings, and so be submitted to rigid superintendence and discipline. Women convicted of unlawful intercourse with the clergy were to lose their freedom and become slaves attached to the Lateran palace.² But these were not the worst vices of the clergy. The stern ascetic Peter Damiani, who now comes forward the absolute unswerving model of monkhood, presented a book to the Pope, the title of which expressed in the coarsest form the unnatural vices widely prevalent among the monks as well as the secular clergy, a book which would shock a more sensitive age, but was received by the Pope as an honest and bold exposition of the morals of the times.³

a plerisque diceretur episcopis, omnes pene basilicas sacerdotalibus officiis destitutas, et præcipue missarum solemnias ad subversionem Christianæ religionis, et desperationem omnium circumquaque fidelium funditus omit-tenda."—Damiani, Liber Gratissimus, c. 35.

¹ "Perrarus inveniretur qui non esset uxoratus vel concubinatus. De simonia quid dicam? omnes pene ecclesiasticos ordines hæc mortifera bellua devoraverat, ut qui ejus mor-tum evaserat, rarus inveniretur."—Vit. S. Joann. Gualberti, 'Non erubes-

cebant sacerdotes uxores ducere, palam nuptias faciebant, nefanda matrimonia contrahebant et legibus eas dotabant, cum quibus secundum leges nec in unâ domo simul habitare debebant."—Bruno Sign. ap. Murator. pp. 346, 347.

² "Et quæcunque damnabiles feminae intra Romana moenia reperirentur Presbyteris prostitute, deinceps Lateranensi palatio adjudicarentur ancillæ." This may have been somewhat later in 1051.—Petri Damiani Epist. ad Cuni-bert. Taurin. Episc.

³ The title of one chapter is enough to show the nature of this odious book,

Damiani's blind monastic fury perceived not that the argument of his repulsive book was against himself. His remedy, the prohibition of marriage, was not likely to correct this frightful state of things. The Bishops at a synod in Rome acquiesced in the prohibition of marriage, but took no steps to enforce it. Of the worse evil, perhaps wisely, they were silent.^y The German Pope might appear to turn his back in horror and disgust from the scenes of such vices. He would seek elsewhere for devout and rigid minds, which might console him by their holy sympathy; and some were yet to be found in every part of Europe, either on the episcopal throne, or in the rigorous cloister.

The saintly ambition therefore of Leo did not confine his views for the reformation of the Church to the city of Rome or to Italy. He aspired to comprehend the whole of Latin Christendom under his personal superintendence. Though now hardly seated firmly in his throne at Rome, he resolved to undertake, as it were, a religious visitation of Western Europe, to show himself in each of the three great kingdoms as the Supreme Pontiff, as the equal or superior of all secular princes; and that in all the genuine characteristics of power, the protection of the oppressed, the redress of grievances, the correction of abuses, the punishment even of the haughtiest and most powerful

the Gomorrhianus of Peter Damiani—
‘De diversitate peccantium contra naturam.’ No detail is spared. Compare Leonis Epist. prefixed to Damiani's book. The wiser Alexander II. stole the book and shut it up. Of this Damiani complains bitterly.—Epist. ii. 6.

. . . ut sacerdotes et Levitæ et subdiaconi cum uxoribus non coeant: quæ res magnum veteris serpentem concitavit in iram. Quod audientes episcopi primo quidem veritati non valentes resistere tacuere; postea vero, suadente humani generis inimico, inobedienter celavere.”—Bonizo, p. 803.

^y “Sub anathemate interdictum est.

offenders against the statutes of the church, the suppression of simony, the restoration of monastic discipline. Some of Leo's predecessors had indeed crossed the Alps, either to obtain by personal supplication the assistance of the Transalpine sovereigns against their enemies; or to take part in the secular or ecclesiastical affairs of those kingdoms. Latterly the Popes had dwelt, in their remote seclusion at Rome, and that seclusion alone had permitted the reverential imagination of the world still to invest them in some lingering sanctity. Yet rumours and the reports of the pilgrims could not but disseminate through Europe, even to its remotest parts, the degraded character of the Italian Popes; the rapacity, the licentiousness, the venality had become more and more notorious. How some Popes had lived, how they had died, could not be altogether disguised. This had been proclaimed in full synods of Transalpine prelates, as at Rheims. The difficulty of reconciling the loftiest spiritual offices, the holiest functions, with the most unholy life, could not but force itself upon the religious mind of Christendom.

Leo came forth to Europe, not only with the power and dignity, but with the austere holiness, the indefatigable religious activity, the majestic virtue which became the head of Christendom. His personal character and habits would bear the closest and most jealous inspection; he was not merely blameless in morals, but exemplary in the depth and intensity of his devotion. Wherever he went he visited the most severe of the clergy or of the monastic orders, men already sainted by the popular devotion; like St. Gualberto of Vallombrosa,* and the successor of

Leo's visitation beyond the Alps.

* See the Lives of S. Gualberto.

the holy Odilo at Clugny. All recognised a kindred spirit, and hailed the genuine Pontiff. He passed by Florence; he held a council at Pavia; he crossed the Alps to Germany. Throughout Germany his time was

A.D. 1049.

March 14.

occupied, till he reached Cologne, in consecrating churches, and bestowing privileges on monasteries. On his arrival at Cologne he was received by the Archbishop Herman, the Chancellor of the Em-

June 29.

pire, with the greatest state. Herman was a prelate of a kindred spirit, pious, and disposed to hierarchical magnificence; both himself and the Pope knowing, no doubt, the influence of the splendid ecclesiastical ceremonial on the popular mind. The Pope created a new and high office for the Archbishop of Cologne, the arch-chancellorship of the Apostolic See. The archbishop became a kind of northern Pope; seven cardinal priests were appointed daily to read mass, sandalled, at the altar of St. Peter in the cathedral. At Cologne appeared the pious Emperor, Henry III., in military array; he was engaged in war with Godfrey, Duke of Upper Lorraine, and a powerful confederacy, comprehending Baldwin of Flanders, and Herman of Mons, and Theodoric of Holland, secretly supported by Henry I., King of France. Godfrey had been already under the ban of the Empire for expelling his brother from his inheritance, the dukedom of Lower Lorraine. He had been defeated and pardoned. But when, on the death of his brother, the Emperor granted away the dukedom of Lower Lorraine to Frederick of Luxemburg, he again rushed to arms. With his lawless allies, he had destroyed the imperial palace at Nimeguen, and burned Verdun. But their predatory bands had suffered a defeat by the forces of the Bishops of Liège, Metz, and Utrecht.

Leo scrupled not to smite with his spiritual arms the enemy, the rebel against the Empire, who was accused of burning churches in his marauding warfare. He excommunicated Godfrey of Lorraine; and that turbulent prince, who had defied the authority and the power of the Emperor, bowed in awe beneath the spiritual censure. He came to Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Pope advanced to receive him; he came as a humble suppliant. The Pope with difficulty extorted his pardon, but not the restitution of his dukedom, from the resentful Emperor. But Godfrey was broken in spirit by the appalling presence of the Pope; he went to Verdun, and submitted to the most humiliating penance: he was publicly scourged before the altar, in order to obtain re-admission into the church. He was condemned to rebuild the cathedral which he had burned; and the fierce marauder was seen labouring like a common workman in the repairs of the ruined church.

July 27.

Nor was the religion of Leo IX. too lofty or spiritual for his age; he was deeply involved in its superstitions. The ecclesiastical Hercules, who travelled about beating down the hydra heads of clerical avarice and licentiousness, is surrounded, like him of old, with an atmosphere of mystic legend. Leo was the most sure discoverer of reliques, wherever it was desirable that reliques should be found; wherever he prayed for them, the bodies of saints came to light. His life was a life of visions; miracles broke out on all great, sometimes on more insignificant occasions.^a

^a The most remarkable miracle, of later date, was this. A precious cup, presented to him by the Archbishop of Cologne, fell on the ground and was broken to pieces. At the word of Leo the pieces came together, the cup was again whole, and the fracture was only marked by a thin thread (capillo). But the most extraordinary part was, that all the while not a drop of the

Germany had received with submission, not unmingled with pride, the holy German Pope. The German clergy, on the whole, stood higher than that of any other part of Latin Christendom. The religious character of the reigning Emperor, Henry III., had maintained at least superior decency of manners; he had discouraged simony, and advanced the more religious of the clergy. But when the austere Pope proposed to pass into France, to visit Rheims, the king and the clergy heard with equal dismay of the unwelcome design. In France, with the exception of some exemplary prelates, the hierarchy were more feudal in their tenures and in their habits: the benefices had fallen into the hands of warlike nobles, more secular than ecclesiastic in their lives; they were obtained by more questionable means, devoted far less exclusively to religious purposes. The king, no doubt, at the suggestion of his clergy, excused himself from this unwonted visitation, on the plea that his bishops and abbots, with the rest of his feudal array, had been summoned to attend his banner against the hostile Normans.

The courteous pertinacity of the Pope would not admit the excuse. As Bishop of Toul he had pledged himself to be present at the consecration of the new and splendid church at Rheims, and the removal of the remains of the holy St. Remi; as Pope he was bound to fulfil his pious engagement. St. Remi was the popular saint of France, equal to St. Martin of Tours, superior to that host of saints which had been canonised by the early zeal of the Franks during the reigns of the Mero-

liquor was spilled. The authority for this was Hugo, Archbishop of Besançon, an eye-witness, who piously stole the cup from the Pope "devoto furto." Wibert, ii. 6. It is related in a Papal diploma, and was avouched by Gregory VII.

vingians. St. Remi had baptised Clovis, and so had expelled Arianism from the kingdom of France. Nothing could deepen so much the reverence for the Pope throughout that part of France as his devout respect for St. Remi. The abbot Heriward had been summoned on his allegiance to attend the royal array: the king was obliged to dismiss him, when advanced some days' march, to attend on his sacred functions.

The Pope came to Rheims: nothing could surpass the pomp of the ceremonial for the consecration of the church. It was the day of St. Remi, the day Oct. 2. on which, in ordinary years, pilgrims crowded from all quarters of the world to the shrine of the tutelary saint of France. It was a time singularly well chosen for the papal visit. Such vast multitudes thronged from all sides (at the council there were representatives of England, no doubt many English among the zealous votaries) that the Pope was obliged to address them from the roof of a house. The church was with the utmost difficulty cleared for the performance of the ceremony; the pious spectators trampled each other under foot. The Pope himself supported for a time the chest or coffin which contained the inestimable bones of St. Remi, during the long procession which awed, delighted, prostrated in reverence and elevated in pride as the possessors of such wonder-working reliques, the countless worshippers.

The consecration of the church was the preliminary to a council summoned to meet at Rheims.

Oct. 3. The council was not imposing for its numbers; it reckoned but twenty bishops, including the strangers, and about fifty abbots; the rest were engaged in following the royal wars. A strife for precedence arose between the Metropolitans of Treves and of Rheims.

Treves had but recently received the title of *Primate* from Leo himself; Rheims asserted his immemorial primacy over the Church of Gaul. The prudent Leo refused to decide the question. The four Archbishops of Treves, Rheims, Lyons, and Besançon sat in a circle around the Pope.^b The Cardinal-Deacon opened the conclave, declaring the subjects which demanded the grave consideration of the assembled fathers: simony, the unlawful possession of clerical benefices by the laity, marriages within the prohibited degrees, desecration of churches, irregular divorces and second marriages, the abandonment of their vows by monks, the military services of the clergy, the plunder and imprisonment of the poor, unnatural crimes, and certain heresies which had arisen in France. Every prelate present was summoned, under pain of the papal anathema, if he was conscious of any guilt of simony, openly to confess his sin. The Archbishop of Treves arose and made his protestation in the most solemn terms. He was followed by Halinard, the venerable Archbishop of Lyons, who had declined the papacy; and by the Archbishop of Besançon. All eyes were turned on Guido of Rheims, who sat in suspicious silence. Guido arose, and demanded a delay until the next morning, that he might have some private communication with the Pope. His request was granted. The turn of the Bishops came. All declared their innocence except Pudicus of Nantes, Hugo of Langres, Godfrey of Coutances, Hugo of Nevers. The examination of their offences was adjourned to the next sitting. The Abbots were not so scrupulous or not so exempt from

^b There were present three English dignitaries: Dudic, Bishop of Bath; the Abbot of St. Augustine in Canterbury, and the Abbot Alvisius.

guilt. Heriward of Rheims declared his own innocence. Even Hugh of Clugny, though he called God to witness that he had no concern in any simoniacal contract, acknowledged that there were suspicious rumours abroad concerning him. Of the rest, some who could not excuse themselves, endeavoured to palliate or conceal their crimes. One, Arnold of Poitiers, accused of grave offences, was deposed. The Cardinal-Deacon, then under the menace of the same apostolic anathema, demanded whether there was present any man who held any one besides the Pope to be the head of the Catholic Church. There was a profound silence: the traditional passages of the canons were then read, on which was grounded the right of the Pontiff of Rome to the primacy of the Church.* It was then proclaimed that the Pope forbade any one, under pain of anathema, to leave Rheims, without his permission, before the close of the council.

The following morning Guido of Rheims, before the opening of the synod, had his private conference with the Pope. Notwithstanding this, he was summoned again by the Cardinal-Deacon to answer on the question of simony, and other grave offences, of which he was publicly accused. Guido answered not; he demanded a consultation with his friends, he retired with the Archbishop of Besançon, the bishops of Angers, Soissons, Nevers, Senlis, Morin (Boulogne). On his return he demanded that the Bishop of Senlis should be heard in his name. The Bishop of Senlis came forward and declared that the Archbishop of Rheims was not guilty of simony. The Pope demanded that he should take the

* Was this, as it were, to exorcise Rheims from the evil doctrine proclaimed at the former council under the influence of Gerbert?

oath: so had his holy predecessor Gregory the Great required of Maximus of Salona. Guido struggled in the toils, again he requested delay: the Pope, content with his humiliation, granted it on condition that in the next spring he should appear to answer before a council at Rome. The other charges were allowed to fall from want of proof. But the bishops escaped not so easily. Hugo of Langres was arraigned not only for simony, but for murder, whoredom, and unnatural crimes. Witnesses were at hand to prove these monstrous wickednesses. The bishop confessed the simony, but repelled the other accusations; the examination of these charges therefore was postponed till the next sitting of the council. Before that sitting Hugo of Langres had fled; he was solemnly cited; he was sought for in his lodgings in due legal form by the Bishops of Senlis and Angers; he was deposed and anathematised as guilty of contumacy. Hugo of Nevers acknowledged that his father had given a large sum of money to purchase his bishopric. Since that time he could condemn himself for no offence, yet he dreaded God's wrath, and was prepared to lay down, he did actually lay down, his pastoral staff at the feet of the Pope. The Pope was content with his oath, that at the time he knew nothing of the simony, and restored his staff. Godfrey of Coutances confessed that his brother had, without his knowledge, bought him his bishopric. As soon as he knew the fact, he had endeavoured to fly; the people had brought him back by force. The council on his oath pronounced him innocent. Bishop Pudicus of Nantes confessed that his father, who had been Bishop of Nantes before him, had secured him the succession by bribery; he admitted that by the same ungodly means he had obtained the ordination after his father's death. He was deposed,

but in mercy allowed to retain the order of a priest. The council proceeded to condemn the bishops who had dared to disobey the papal summons to the council. The anathema fell on the Archbishop of Sens, the Bishops of Amiens and Beauvais; the Bishop of Laon, the adviser of the King of France to impede the council, and the Abbot of St. Medard, who had left the council without the permission of the Pope. Their sees were declared void (the Archbishop had been forced upon his diocese by the King; the Bishop of Amiens was a great hunter); the clergy and people proceeded to new elections. Among the other statutes of this council, chiefly the re-enactment of former canons, one condemned a Spanish prelate, the Archbishop of St. James of Compostella, who had dared to assume the title of an Apostolic bishop; and aspired, as Gerbert of Rheims to be a Gallican Pope, to be the Pope of Spain. ,

The Norman historian sums up the acts of the Council of Rheims. Priests were forbidden to bear arms, or to have wives. The bearing arms they gave up without reluctance; but even now they will, not their harlots (such is the name with which their wives were branded), nor submit to chastity.^d

To the Gallican council at Rheims succeeded a German council, attended by forty prelates at Mentz, among these three great Metropolitans, Bardo of Mentz, Eberhard of Treves, Herman of Cologne, with Engelhard

^d "Tunc ibidem generale concilium tenuit, et inter reliqua ecclesiæ commoda, quæ instituit, presbyteris arma ferre et conjuges habere prohibuit. Unde consuetudo lethalis paulatim exinaniri cepit—arma quidem ferre presbyteri jam gratanter desinere, sed a pellicibus adhuc nolunt abstinere, nec pudicitie inservire."—Orderic. Vital. Compare Vit. Hildeberti, in Act. SS. April 29: Alberic Destrois fontaines, Leibnitz, p. 89.

of Magdeburg, Adalbert of Hamburg and Bremen.* The Council of Mentz confirmed the acts of the Council of

Rheims. The same strong resolutions passed
Oct. 19. against simony and concubinage. Sibico, Bishop of Spires, was forced to take the sacrament in proof of his guiltlessness of simony. According to the biographer of Leo, Sibico's cheek was struck with palsy, and he bore for life the brand of his perjury.^f A contest for the archbishopric of Besançon was decided in favour of the Metropolitan Hugo, who had rendered such true allegiance to the Pope at Rheims. During his return to Italy, Leo either visited in person, or confirmed by statute, the privileges of many famous monasteries—Fulda, Lorsch, Moyaen-Moutier, Altorf, Hirschau, Reichenau, Donauwerth.^g He passed Christmas in Verona. Leo IX. returned to Rome. In this single spiritual campaign, by the calm dignity of his holiness, by his appeal to the strong religious reverence of Christendom, he had restored the papacy to all its former authority over the minds of men. He had justly elevated the pride of Germany in having bestowed such a Pope upon the world, crushed the tendencies at least to rebellion in the churches of France and Spain, and brought them again into acknowledged subordination to the See of

* Adam. Bremens. Hist. Eccl. ap. Lindenbrog. Mansi et Hartzheim, Lubann.

^f Wibert, Vit. Leon. ii. 5. The charge against Sibico, according to Adam of Bremen, was adultery.

^g Among the countless treasures of reliques bestowed on the church of Altorf, were pieces of the cradle, the tomb, and the garments of the Re-

deemer; of the vine which he had planted with his own hand!—of the cross,—of the robe of the Virgin, and the beard of John the Baptist. All this and much more is related as if with grave unsuspectingness (is it indeed grave unsuspectingness?) by Hoefler, ii. p. 64. See also the discovery of the site of Hirschau.

Rome. He carried back to Italy the respect and the obedience of the world to overawe any still unextirpated desire for the recovery of Italian spiritual domination; to Rome the assurance of the most powerful Transalpine protection, to suppress the turbulent and mutinous spirit of her nobles and her people.

CHAPTER II.

Berengar of Tours.

THE unity of Latin Christendom had been threatened during the dark age of the Papacy not only by the separation of the spiritual monarchy into independent dynasties, by the elevation of a Gallican and of a Spanish primate; the allegiance even of Ravenna and Milan to the supreme pontiff was doubtful and contested. Nothing could have preserved the papal supremacy if it had continued to descend in its line of lawless Roman princes. It might have been endangered even by a succession of German pontiffs of less energetic, commanding, and holy character than Leo IX.—pontiffs in whom the German nationality had predominated over their churchmanship—for Christendom would hardly have submitted long to the Pope, only an obsequious vassal of the German Emperor. More, however, than this, the unity of doctrine, that great system of imaginative Christianity which had so long ruled the mind of Latin Christendom, was menaced with a controversy which struck at the roots of its power, prematurely undermined in the hearts of men the greatest of those influences by which the hierarchy swayed the world, and might have led, long before Christendom was ripe for a more spiritual and intellectual religion, to a fatal disturbance of the traditional and dominant faith. The controversy raised by Berengar on the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, his protest

against the new rigid form of Transubstantiation into which that doctrine had but recently been cast by Paschasius Radbert and his followers, was totally different from those which to this period had broken the unity of the Church. Sects from time to time had arisen and were still rising^a in different parts of Latin Christendom whose opinions departed widely from the dominant faith. But the principle of these sects was, in general, separation from the Church; they were societies working in secret, withdrawing their members from the communion of the Church and from subordination to the hierarchy; bound together either by peculiar tenets or by some intuitive harmony of feeling and opinion; here organised under their own priesthood, there held together by aversion to the pride and to the vices of the established clergy; esteeming apostolic poverty and apostolic humility the only signs of apostolic truth and authority. Infinitely various, but with some leading kindred principles, these sects had one common character, they were sects. They either asserted each itself to be the sole true church, or, altogether rejecting the notion of a visible church, rested on the evangelic truth of their doctrines, on their conformity with the sacred Scriptures (never altogether abandoned as a distinct tenet); or they had inherited the yet unextinguished principles of Arian or Manichean opinions, the latter of which seem to have been constantly flowing by untraceable channels into the West. These sects were the authors, in different quarters of Europe, of wide-spread and still renewed revolt; but this revolt was still beaten down in detail by the strong arm of ecclesiastical and temporal power: they were

^a This affiliation of these very obscure sects will be hereafter traced.

confuted by the irrefragable argument of fire and sword.

But the opinions of Berengar threatened a civil war—a contest within the Church, within the clergy itself. He declared that his was the true Catholic doctrine; from his school at Tours he proclaimed a haughty intellectual defiance to all the other theologic schools of Christendom. He was himself probably unconscious of the ultimate bearing of his own views. He appealed to the clergy generally, in all likelihood as unconscious; but who had an intuitive apprehension, equally alarming to the prudence of the cautious and to the sensitive jealousy of the devout, that they were descending from a higher to a lower ground—that the Sacrament, by this new or revived interpretation, was sinking in its majesty and in its efficacy. This Sacrament—the Eucharist—from the earliest times had withdrawn into the most profound mystery; it had been guarded with the most solemn reverence, shrouded in the most impressive ceremonial. It had become as it were the Holy of Holies of the religion, in which the presence of the Godhead was only the more solemn from the surrounding darkness. That Presence had as yet been unapproached by profane and searching controversy, had been undefined by canon, neither agitated before Council, nor determined by Pope. During all these centuries no language had been thought too strong to express the overpowering awe and reverence of the worshippers. The oratory of the pulpit and the hortatory treatise had indulged freely in the boldest images; the innate poetry of the faith had worked those images into realities. Christ's real Presence was in some indescribable manner in the Eucharist; but under the notion of the real Presence might meet con-

ceptions the most dissimilar, ranging from the most subtle spiritualism to the most gross materialism; that of those whose faith would be as profoundly moved by the commemorative symbols, which brought back upon the memory in the most vivid reality the one sacrifice upon the cross; as that of the vulgar, to whom the more material the more impressive the notion, to whom the sacred elements would be what the fetiche is to the savage.

Between these two extremes would be the great multitude of believers, who would contemplate the whole subject with remote and reverential awe. To these the attempt at the scrutiny or even the comprehension of the mystery would appear the height of profane presumption; yet their intuitive apprehension would shrink on the one hand from refining the holy bread and wine into mere symbols, on the other from that transubstantiation which could not but expose the actual Godhead to all the accidents to which those elements, not now merely corporeal, and with all the qualities of the human flesh and blood, but actually deified, might be subject. It was the fatal term Transubstantiation, first used (as is commonly, but it seems erroneously said) by Paschasius Radbert, a monk of New Corvey, which startled some of the more reflective minds; according to this term the elements ceased entirely to be what they still seemed to be to the outward senses. The substance of the bread and wine was actually annihilated—nothing existed but the body and blood of the Redeemer, the body and blood of the Redeemer resuscitated in the flesh, yet to which belonged the ubiquity, the eternity of the divine nature.*

* Paschasius Radbert's Treatise is in Martene et Durand, t. ix. Paschasius, though perhaps his *theory* of Transubstantiation (he does not use the word) may be explained away into what is called Impanation (as by

Such a phrase could not but cause some reaction. But the leader of that reaction, Berengar, had surrendered himself as the humble pupil of the one great thinker, the one purely metaphysical intelligence, who during this period had been so much in advance of his age as almost to elude their theological jealousy.

It was impossible but that among the minds withdrawn into profound contemplation by monasticism, altogether secluded from practical intercourse with the world, there should be some in whom the severe intelligence should entirely predominate. Such men—the religious awe being less strong and less exclusively exercised than the logical faculty—would not be restrained from the cool analytic examination even of the most accredited theologic phraseology; they would subtly scrutinise the inward sense of words, reduce them from their rhetorical or poetic form to their present meaning; they would be, by mental constitution, the intellectual parents of the Nominalists in the twelfth century.

Of these the most remarkable was the Scotch or Irish monk, John Scotus or Erigena. Erigena was a philosopher of a singularly subtle mind: men wondered at this subtlety, which was so high above the general train of popular notions as to command universal reverence rather than suspicion. But he had not only broken the bonds of Latin Christianity, he went almost beyond the bounds of Christianity itself.

Ebrard, *Dogma vom Heiligen Abendmahl*, i. 406), certainly followed it out into its grossest consequences, the miracles of the Host bleeding, assuming a human form, that of a child, &c., c. xiv. Sirmond claims for him (in *Vitâ*) the merit of having first matured

the full doctrine of the middle ages; others ascribe it to Lanfranc. The Schoolmen stripped off all the awfulness, and coldly discussed it in all its naked materialism. Compare Gieseler on Paschasius and on Berengar.

The philosopher dwelt alone in his transcendental world ; he went fathoming on, fearless and unreprieved, in the very abysses of human thought ; and, it is not improbable, had followed out his doctrines into that theory at which men in whom the rationalistic faculty prevails, and who are still under the influence of a latent religiousness, so often arrive. He had wrought out a vague Pantheism, singularly anticipative of that which in its various forms now rules in modern Germany. But we must at a later period revert to Erigena as in one sense the parent of scholasticism, but of scholasticism as a free, discursive, speculative science, before it had been bound up with rigid orthodoxy by Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus. Berengar, it should seem, with a weaker and far less original mind, had been caught in the logical trammels of Erigena, from which he could not escape. He was not without the pride which arises from the adoption as well as the discovery of new and apparently distinct views of mysterious subjects, as manifesting superior intellectual strength and acuteness (that pride is betrayed in his somewhat contemptuous challenge to Lanfranc), or he shrank from the coarser materialism which seemed enforced by the doctrines of Paschasius Radbert, and which had already encountered opposition from Rabanus Maurus, the monk Ratramn, and some others.* He proclaimed, as the true doctrine of the Church, the counter definition of his master Erigena, which, asserting the real Presence, declared that real Presence spiritually conceived.^d

* On the question of the authorship of the treatise ascribed to Scotus Erigena, and to the monk Ratramnus, compare Gieseler. The treatise of Scotus, if he wrote expressly on the subject, is lost. Compare Schröckh, *xxiii.* 441, *et seqq.*

^d The discovery of the famous tra-

On the other hand, in the vast European hierarchy there could not be wanting minds of equally powerful logical subtlety, and trained in dialectic science, who would repress within themselves the rebellious intelligence; and in the confidence arising out of their infelt accordance with the dominant creed, with the sagacity, not merely timorous but conscientiously jealous, which would tremble at any approach to the unsettling of great religious questions, or the diminishing of the sacerdotal power* (the only bulwark against brute force and blind ferocity), would espouse the established creed with the zeal and ardour of conscientious churchmanship. Such was Lanfranc, a native of Pavia, under whose learned government the Norman monastery of Bec was rising into fame; and Lanfranc himself was gaining that high character which designated him hereafter for the Norman primate of England. Some jealousy may have lurked in the mind of the master of the great school of Tours, which had so long enjoyed high reputation as a seat of theologic learning, against the upstart university, if it may be so called,^f among the yet barbarous Normans. In his challenge to Lanfranc, Berengar acknowledges the ability of that teacher with a haughty condescension, reproving him for the haste with which

tise of Berengar by Lessing, its recent publication at Berlin, furnishes us with Berengar's own distinct, deliberate statement of his views. It is a hard, harsh, obscure treatise, apparently little likely to awaken enthusiasm, or to attach devoted followers.

* Miracles were not wanting to refute Berengar. A priest saw and touched the form of a child on the

altar. He kissed it; it resumed the appearance of bread. Berengar tauntingly said, "*Speciosa certe pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præberet basium, dentium inferret exitium.*" — Wm. Malmesb., p. 466.

^f See in Malmesbury the very curious account of the virtue, austerity, and sanctity of Berengar by Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, p. 466.

he has presumed to condemn the judgements of Erigena.^g

The opinions of Berengar were widely disseminated by the poor scholars^h who wandered about the country from the school at Tours, and who were maintained at the cost of Berengar. By some they were heard with horror: he was accused, as usual, of opinions which he did not hold—of reducing the Holy Sacrament to a shadow, not a truth—of vague concubinage, and the denial of baptism.ⁱ Others seem to have been overawed by the fame of his erudition. His first antagonist did no great honour to the cause of orthodoxy; it was Hugo, Bishop of Langres, the bishop condemned and degraded by the Council of Rheims for notorious criminality of life. Others wrote in a more respectful and expostulatory tone. The writings of Berengar himself have all the contemptuousness of a mind in which the severe and naked logical faculty has complete mastery, and which cannot comprehend that unison of faith and reasoning which commends itself to those in whom the religious sentiment maintains its power.

Lanfranc had his revenge for the insolent superiority assumed by Berengar. He was present at the Council in Rome held by Pope Leo IX. The May, 1050 opinions of Berengar were brought under discussion, but of those opinions there was no acknowledged or authoritative statement which could expose him to con-

^g "Hac ergo in re, si ita est, pater, indignum fecisti ingenio quod tibi Deus, *non aspernabile*, contulit, præproperam ferendo sententiam. Nondum enim satagisti in scripturâ divinâ, nec multum contulisti cum tuis diligentioribus." — Lanfranco Berengarius,

apud Giles. Lanfranci Opera, Epist. 1

^h "Jamque scatebat omnis Gallia ejus doctrinâ per egenos scolares, quos ipse quotidianâ stipe sollicitabat, disseminatâ." Wm. Malmesb., iii.

ⁱ Authorities in Mabillon, *Analect.*, and Schröckh, p. 509.

demnation. Lanfranc, suspected (such was his excuse) of correspondence with the heretic, and thus implicated in his doctrines, produced the fatal letter in which Berengar avowed the opinions of Erigena, proclaimed the Holy Sacrament, as it was asserted, and inaccurately asserted, to be but a figure and a similitude.^k Berengar was condemned at once; he was commanded to appear at the Council summoned to meet at Vercelli.

Sept. 1050.

But to Vercelli Berengar came not;^m he had appealed to King Henry of France for protection: he was imprisoned by that monarch in order, as he himself states, to extort money from him; nor would he submit to be judged out of his province. He had not merely proselytes, but fanatical followers. The Church of Tours sent one of their body to deprecate the hasty wrath of the Pope; he was accompanied by a renowned clerk of Burgundy, named Stephen.ⁿ Words ran high: to Lanfranc's learned arguments it was replied, that he who rejected the conclusions of Erigena

^k Compare Vita Lanfranci apud Giles. Oper. Lanfranc. i. 188. There his friends are said to have sent the letter after him, and that Lanfranc, suspected of heresy on account of his correspondence with Berengar, produced the letter.

^m It is remarkable with what supercilious contempt Berengar writes of the Council of Vercelli, even of Leo IX. He denies the right of the Pope to summon him to be judged beyond his metropolitan province. He accuses Leo of having lodged with the Bishop of Vercelli, who was living in open adultery with the wife of his uncle, a nobleman of Pavia, and of having refused to take cognisance of the charge

publicly made by his uncle against the bishop.—p. 40. By an adverse writer he is reported to have spoken with equal scorn of the Pope and of the see of Rome: "Nempe S. Leonem P. non Pontificem sed pompificem et pulpificem appellavit, S. Romanam Ecclesiam vanitatis concilium et Ecclesiam malignantium, Romanam sedem non apostolicam sed sedem Satanæ dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare." —Bernald. de Berengar. damnatione. Gieseler has quoted the whole passage, p. 285.

ⁿ "Dissuaserant secundum ecclesiastica jura, secundum quæ nullus extra provinciam ad judicium cogendus est ire."

rejected the words of St. Augustine.^o One of Lanfranc's party, who branded Berengar with the name of heretic, the Canon of Tours declared, in the name of Almighty God, to be "a liar." But notwithstanding this bold resistance, the Council of Vercelli passed its censure both upon Erigena the master, and the disciple Berengar.

But Berengar treated the excommunication of the Pope and of the Council with sovereign contempt. His disdainful language towards the Pope offended even his friends. He charges his antagonists with ignorant or wilful misrepresentation.^p In France his opinions divided the public mind; one distinguished prelate, Bruno of Angers, openly espoused his doctrines; they were favourably received by Froilant of Senlis. The king vacillated between the condemnation of Berengar and tacit connivance at his opinions. Two Councils were held, one by the Duke of Normandy, whom Berengar had endeavoured to win over, at his castle of Brion: of this synod the date and the proceedings are but vaguely known. Berengar is said to have withdrawn discomfited, and admitting the truth of the established doctrine. The second was summoned by the king at Paris. There the Bishop of Orleans, the adversary of Berengar, took the lead. The tenets of Berengar and the book of Scotus were denounced by wild acclamation; and it was declared, that, if Berengar did not recant, the clergy would summon the array of

^o Much of the treatise 'De Sacra Cœnâ' is devoted to the proof that his own doctrines and those of Erigena were the same as those of Ambrose and Augustine.

^p Berengar bitterly complains of

the misrepresentation of his doctrines: "Humbertus enim ille tuus, inaudito me . . . scripsit quod voluit, et quod meum non erat, mendaciter meum esse confinxit."

the kingdom, march at its head, besiege Berengar in whatever fortress or city he might take refuge, compel him to recant, or to surrender himself as prisoner. But the name of Erigena stood high in France; he had always been held as the most honoured divine at the court of Charles the Bald. The king hesitated, and took no further measures for the restraint of Berengar. It was not till towards the close of Leo's life and pontificate that the alarm grew so great at Rome that no less than Hildebrand himself, the cardinal-subdeacon of the Church, now rising towards that height of fame, afterwards to exalt him above all the world, was sent as legate into France to compose that dangerous feud.⁹ Hildebrand, with his natural intrepidity, summoned a

April 1054.

Council at Tours, to assail his adversary in his stronghold. But at Tours Hildebrand, instead of taking the high ground of authority, condescended to become persuasive and conciliatory; he was content with an ambiguous declaration extorted from Berengar, that after consecration the bread and wine were really the body and blood of the Lord.^r With this, and with a faint expression of his determination to carry Berengar with him to Rome, Hildebrand closed his part in this

⁹ "Ego interim dico: panem et vinum per consecrationem converti in altari, in verum Christi corpus et sanguinem, non mea, non tua, sed evangelica apostolicaque simul autenticarum scripturarum quibus contra ire nefas, est sententia." He subjoins lower: "Quam diceres conversionem . . . minime assignasti."—p. 57. See against Material Transmutation, p. 173. In more than one place Berengar states that he had disguised his opinions for fear of death.—p. 73. See also

the distinct view of Berengar's opinions, p. 274. Compare *De Sacra Cœnâ*, pp. 52, 53.

^r He states that before Hildebrand: "quod jurarem, panem atque vinum altaris post consecrationem sunt corpus Christi et sanguis. Hæc me sicut re proferrem, juramento confirmavi, corde tenui." It was the *material* change which he rigorously and constantly opposed, by every argument of obscure, indeed, and tortuous logic, but still with unaccommodating rigour.

momentous controversy. The secret is clear: Hildebrand was wanted at Rome; his place was there.^a The King of France was bringing forward in his council questions of great political importance, an accusation against the King of Spain, and a demand of aid against that king from the Emperor. The Council might be interminably protracted, and Pope Leo was in the utmost peril; his army had been defeated, he was a prisoner; if released, released only to die.^b Besides the fatal effects of his humiliation, his macerations had begun to threaten his life; to those so deep in the politics of Rome the progress, the fatal end of his disease might be known by sure prognostics.

But we must reascend two years to Leo, still in the full activity of his youth, still endeavouring to command the whole Latin world by his personal presence. His aspiration was still to be Pope of Christendom, not of Rome only (though, as will hereafter appear, he had great schemes for the aggrandisement of the Pope in Italy): so during this period he visited rather than took up his residence, or fixed his court, in Rome. Three times, during his pontificate of five years, he crossed the Alps; once already he had been seen in Germany and at Rheims; the second Transalpine visitation took place immediately after the Council of Vercelli. Its ostensible object was a great religious ceremony in honour of the city of which he was still the bishop. The German

^a Hildebrand had ordered all the books bearing on the subject to be collected: "*Ut ex eorum auctoritate satisfaceret de eucharistiâ pro ejus diligentiori consideratione et veritatis, Dei misericordiâ, comprehensione hæreticis ne insinulaverant homines nihil scientes, et superiores se in scientiâ alios non æquo animo tolerantes.*"—p. 52.

^b According to Berengar, p. 53, he had heard of the actual death of Leo: "*Nunciatum illi est, Papam Leonem rebus decessisse humanis.*"

Popes had introduced a singular kind of plurality, as if the Teuton felt insecure in his Roman see, and still reserved a safe retreat in his native land. Clement II. had retained the bishopric of Bamberg; Leo Oct. 21, 1050. had been several years Pope before he vacated that of Toul.

No gift could be bestowed on a city or on a church of equal value with that of a popular saint; the city grew in honour and in wealth. Not merely were its own citizens more under the influence of the clergy from this increased devotion, but it became a place of pilgrimage; multitudes flocked annually to the shrine with their offerings, and not seldom a profitable commercial mart grew up to the advantage of the town. Gerard had been bishop of Toul; he had reposed for fifty-six years in his tomb. During a ceremonial, as solemn as that which had installed the holy St. Remi in his new shrine, the tomb of Gerard was opened. The body was found in perfect preservation. An altar was consecrated to the new saint; wonderful cures were not wanting; privileges were lavishly bestowed on the favoured church, and on the clergy of the favoured see.

The Pope again visited some of the great cities of Germany, everywhere making munificent grants, confirming the rights and possessions of monasteries. He was at Treves and at Augsburg; at the Feast Feb. 2, 1051. of the Purification of the Virgin met the Emperor and the Pope. But enemies of the Pope had now arisen at the court of the Emperor. Leo IX. was too much of a German pontiff for the Italians, not German enough for his countrymen. The Germans, during the reign of the Franconian emperors, had possessed themselves of some of the wealthiest sees in Italy,

as well as of that of Rome." A German held the see of Ravenna; and under his episcopate Ravenna had begun to renew her ancient pretensions to independence of Rome. Leo, in the true Roman spirit, would not endure the encroachments even of a German prelate, raised to his see by the special favour of the Emperor. The Italian prelates at Vercelli joined eagerly in the humiliation of the German of Ravenna; Humfred was degraded and excommunicated by the Pope and Council. At this act the brooding jealousy against the Pope broke out at the court of Henry into open hostility. Bishop Nitger of Freisingen, a magnificent prelate, whose revenue, if in part dedicated to less sacred uses, was splendidly employed on ecclesiastical buildings, during some warm dispute relating to the affair of Ravenna, grasping his neck, said, "May a sword cleave this throat if I work not the ruin of this Pope." The biographer of Leo adds that the bishop^x was seized with a pain in the neck, and died in a few days. At Augsburg the Pope was compelled to submit to the restoration of his haughty antagonist. Humfred, it is true, was ordered to make a restitution of all which he had unlawfully usurped from the Pope, to acknowledge his supremacy and to request his forgiveness. He knelt; "According to the depth of his repentance," said the Pope, "may God forgive him his sins." The prelate rose, and broke out in scornful laughter. Tears filled the eyes of the Pope. "Miserable, he is a dead man!" Humfred returned to Ravenna, fell ill, and

^x Hoefler has drawn out a list of German prelates, by which it appears that the Patriarchate of Aquileia, the Bishoprics of Como, Padua, and Verona, were a long time almost exclusively in their hands: other sees less frequently.—Beilage, xvii. p. 333.

^x This must have been much later, as Nitger survived the Archbishop of Ravenna some time.

in a few days died, not without strong suspicions of poison.^y

The third journey of Leo IX. beyond the Alps was as mediator between the Emperor Henry and Andrew King of Hungary. Fifty years had elapsed since that formidable people the Hungarians had been converted to Christianity. Stephen King, 1000, 1036, 1052, Leo's third journey to Germany. St. Stephen, their king, had wrought this almost sudden change. Stephen was the son of a Christian mother, Sarolta, herself the daughter of Gyula, who had been converted by a monk of Constantinople, Hierotheus. King Geisa, father of Stephen, seems to have hovered between the old Magyar religion of his subjects and his new faith. Stephen was not baptised in his infancy; the holy St. Adalbert administered to him that redeeming rite; he received the Christian name of Stephen; he obtained the hand of a Christian bride, Gisela, the daughter of the Emperor Otho. On the death of Geisa, an insurrection of the Magyars against the foreign councils and the foreign faith was suppressed. The Christian King ascended the throne; his first act was to unite himself to Latin Christendom; he sent an embassy to Pope Sylvester II., and received the present of a crown, and a Papal edict empowering him to regulate the ecclesiastical offices of his realm. He was crowned King of Hungary at Gran. Throughout the land rose churches: the nation received the religion of their Sovereign. Stephen, during his reign of thirty years, continued in the practice of that faith and of those virtues, which acquired for him the

^y Gförrer, with somewhat dubious charity, labours to exculpate the Pope from all share in this crime, of which no candid man can have the least suspicion. He lays it to the hostility of the Italians, who were jealous of their bishoprics being turned into German fortresses for the oppression of Italy.

name and renown of a saint. But Peter, the successor of Stephen, did not rule, he was ruled by German and Italian priests. The rude and warlike people had indignantly thrown off the yoke. The unhappy king was dethroned, blinded; Andrew and Levanta, two princes of the royal race, were placed on the throne; heathenism became again the national religion; everywhere the old altars rose; the Christians were persecuted; some priests and bishops suffered martyrdom. But on the death of Levanta, Andrew boldly declared himself a Christian; he was crowned by a Christian bishop (probably the native bishops had been permitted to remain); he restored the churches, and prohibited heathenism on pain of death.

The Emperor Henry had espoused the cause of the dethroned Peter; on his death he declared Hungary a fief of the empire. Andrew offered tribute, it was rejected with scorn. At the instigation of Henry, himself engaged in the war with Godfrey of Lorraine, his uncle Gebhard, Bishop of Ratisbon, led a marauding expedition into Hungary. He was defeated; but the Count of Bavaria and Adalbert Margrave of Austria entered into the war. It was waged with greater yet not with conclusive success. Haimbourg the frontier town was taken and retaken. Henry himself in the year 1051 headed a campaign without important result, the next year he advanced with a more overwhelming force, and laid siege to Presburg. Pope Leo appeared in his camp to reconcile the temporal head of Christendom² with a king who had restored the Christianity of his realm. But his mediation was rejected by both

² An Hungarian prelate, Coloczy, or avowed, of King Andrew to the Pope. Compare throughout Mailath, at Toul, perhaps as ambassador, secret | Geschichte der Magyaren.

parties. He urged on the Emperor the terms of submission and tribute, offered by the Hungarians; Aug. Sept. Henry coldly and contemptuously declined the conditions. But the tide of war turned, the Hungarians sank the provision ships on the Danube, upon which the army of the Emperor depended for their subsistence; and now the Hungarian in his turn refused the humiliating concessions which he had offered before. The Pope withdrew, not without some loss of dignity; the peace was not established till the following year, and then without his interference. At Ratisbon during the close of this year Pope Leo pursued his favourite avocation, the canonisation of Saints. Two bishops of that city, Erhard and Wolfgang, were installed in that honour with the usual imposing ceremony.

Christmas was celebrated by the Pope and the Emperor, and many of the great prelates of Germany, at A.D. 1052.
Pope Leo at
Worms. Worms. They met not merely to celebrate the birth of the Redeemer with more than usual magnificence, but on secular affairs of great, it appeared of vital importance to the Pope. Leo, though maintaining his hold on Transalpine Christendom, had not neglected the affairs of Italy. Those affairs in which he appeared in a new character, and of which he was perhaps the victim, must be unfolded hereafter. He aspired it is clear to restore the Pope to his rank as an Italian Potentate, to become something more than a secular vassal of the empire, something beyond the spiritual monarch of Christendom. The See of Rome laid claim to many wealthy churches and abbeys,* either as the pious donations of the founders, or as the grants

* See the list of 31 churches and 47 monasteries, besides some allodial estates, in Muratori *Antiq. v. Dissert.* 69.—Hoefer, p. 367.

of emperors. Among these were the famous Abbey of Fulda, and the bishopric of Bamberg.^b Leo agreed to surrender these endowments in exchange for the city and territory of Benevento, stipulating at the same time for a strong imperial force to put him in possession of that city, and to enable him to subdue the formidable and hostile Normans.

But the Antipapal party at the court of Henry had grown in strength and in bitterness of hostility; the more the Pope became an Italian, and the more he asserted his independence, the more odious he became to the great German prelates. His most attached friend and most powerful supporter, the holy and charitable Bardos, the Archbishop of Mentz, was dead; the Emperor of his own authority had appointed Liutpold, Provost of the Chapter of Bamberg, to this German primacy. The Pope had bestowed, in order to propitiate the new primate, some further privileges on the See of Mentz. The archbishop was the Papal Legate in his own diocese. But Leo, as if he knew the character of Liutpold, took the opportunity of this grant to remind him of the duties of his Worms,
Oct. 18. function. A trifling incident betrayed the mutual jealousy of the German and Italian churchmen, the difficult position of the Pope, who having rashly favoured the insolent superiority of the Italians, was obliged to humble himself before the sullen obstinacy of the Germans. In the mass for Christmas day, the Pope read the service, the next day the Archbishop of Mentz, the Metropolitan of Worms, performed the function. The procession was ended, the archbishop had taken his

^b Gfrörer conjectures that the Bishopric of Bamberg was attached to the Papacy on the promotion of Clement the Second.

seat, Humbert, a deacon of the archbishop, chanted the Gospel in a tone different from the Roman usage, perhaps jarring to Italian ears. The Italians requested the Pope to forbid him from proceeding in his dissonant chant: the Pope did so, but the deacon went on, disregarding the Papal mandate. The Pope allowed the Gospel to be ended, summoned the refractory deacon, and declared him deposed from his office: the archbishop instantly sent some of his clergy to demand the restoration of his deacon; the Pope declined. The service went on, it was the time for the elevation of the Host. The archbishop sat stubbornly in his seat, and declared that neither he himself, nor any other should proceed with the office. The whole ceremony paused; the Pope was obliged to yield, his apologists said because he would not interfere with the rights of a metropolitan in his own diocese. The deacon was reinvested in his functions; the archbishop condescended to discharge the rest of his holy office.

But this, humiliating as it was, was not the most fatal mark of jealousy displayed by German churchmen against the unpopular Pontiff. At a council at Mantua, suddenly broken off, were undisguised signs of German hostility.^c Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt, who was of great weight in the councils of the Emperor, persuaded him to withdraw the greater part of the troops, which were to march with the Pope into Italy, and put him in possession of Benevento.^d The

^c At the council of Mantua the uproar against the Pope was not on account of the married clergy, against whom stronger measures were threatened, but the attempt of the Pope to obtain a sponge declared to contain the blood of the Lord. This accompanied the reliques of S. Longinus, the soldier who pierced the side with his spear. Compare Theiner, vol. ii. p. 32.

^d Floto (Kaiser Heinrich der Vierte, i. p. 179, published 1856) assigns some reasons, the dangers and difficulties of Henry in Germany, for that advice.

Pope had influence enough to retain in his service 500 Swabian knights. With these, and assembling around his standard, as he went, a host of lawless adventurers and mercenaries, the holy Leo marched through Italy to appear at the head of his own forces, the first or almost the first martial pope, against the terrible Normans. The Italian policy of Leo, bold, aggressive to a certain degree, had been justified by success. In the reconquest of Sardinia from a new invasion of the Saracens, his admonitions and advice had encouraged the Pisans to achieve the conquest. In the neighbourhood of Rome he had not been able to subdue the fierce barons, who still maintained the fastness cities, and awaited their time: a Crescentius still held Tusculum. But Southern Italy offered a more promising field for the extension and consolidation of his sovereignty. It was held by three powers mortally hostile to each other, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans. Of these the Saracens, by recent feuds, had been so weakened, that Leo, in his lofty visions, began to dream of the reconquest of Sicily to Christendom. The Greeks, almost in despair of maintaining their ground against the Norman adventurers, had vainly sought recourse in craft. They endeavoured to bribe them with enormous pay to enter into their service and engage in new wars in the East. But the Normans knew their strength: this body of men, who had arrived in Italy as pilgrims, had now become sovereigns of many cities; they warred impartially on all.* The deliverance of Southern Italy from these half christianised and barbarous freebooters seemed to justify to Pope Leo even his warlike propen-

* On the settlement of the Normans in Italy read the curious chronicle, 'Li Normans,' published, by M. Champollion Figeac. Soc. de l'Histoire de France

sities. His first incursion into the South had been of a more peaceful, more seemly character; but it had opened to his ambition views which matured slowly to the close of his life. In the second year of his pontificate, he had again visited Monte Casino, and held a synod at Salerno. At his approach the city of Benevento threw off the yoke of its sovereign prince, Landulf of Capua. Leo hesitated not to accept the popular surrender; and to receive the city as part of the domain of St. Peter. The faction of the Capuan regained possession, Leo excommunicated the rebellious city. He was now by the Imperial grant Lord of Benevento. He was at the head of an army, enlisted to expel the Normans from the land. He wrote to the Greek Emperor, Constantine Monomachus, to declare the reasons which urged him to undertake this war in person. In his martial ardour he forgot the theologic controversy,^f which was rising to its height with the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius; the controversy, which prolonged for centuries the schism between the Greek and Latin churches. While the vital question as to the nature of the Sacrament threatened to distract the West, the East broke off all con-

For this controversy between Humbert, Cardinal Bishop of Sylva Candida, legate at Constantinople, and the clergy of Constantinople, which ended in haughty words on both sides, see Leonis Epist. apud Mansi, xix. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. One of the strongest objections against the Greek Church was the marriage of her clergy. The Latin replies: "Hæcine quoque sunt illa majora et perfectiora, ut novus maritus et recente carnis voluptate resolutus et totus marcidus Christi

ministret altaribus, et ab ejus immaculato corpore sanctificando manus confestim ad muliebres transferat amplexus. . . . Pro quibus omnibus et aliis, quos longum est scripto prosequi erroribus, nisi resiperitis et digne satisfeceritis, irrevocabile anathema hic et in futuro eritis a Deo et ab omnibus Catholicis, pro quibus Christus animam suam posuit."—Compare the answer by Nicetas. Apud Canis. pp. 501-514.

nexion with a church which dared to use unleavened bread in that solemn rite. The Normans, thus wrote Leo to the Emperor, that undisciplined and foreign race, were still ravaging Christian Italy with more than Pagan impiety; they spared neither age nor sex, and not merely slew the Christians indiscriminately in promiscuous fray, but put them to death slowly with indescribable tortures. They made no distinction between things sacred and profane; they plundered, burned, razed churches. Princes, according to the apostles, were not to bear the sword in vain; and as a prince Leo went out to war; not that he desired the death of a single Norman, nor of any human being, but by the terrors of human judgements, these unbelievers must be taught the terrors of God's judgements.⁵

In his youthful days, Leo had acquired some fame for military conduct; he had commanded the vassals of the bishopric of Toul in one of the Emperor Conrad's expeditions into Italy. Some vain self-confidence may have mingled with the zeal which induced him to lead his own army against the enemies of the faith^h—an act at which some of the more religious stood amazed, and did not disguise their utter repugnance. The stern recluse Peter Damiani protested with all his natural energy.¹

⁵ Leo IX. Epist. Constant. Monomach. vii.; Labbe, p. 982.

^h "In illius itaque secularis militiæ dispositione, sic repente sagax apparuit et providus, quasi hujusmodi negotiis tantum fuisset hactenus exercitatus." —Wibert, i. 7.

¹ Damiani lays down this irrefragable proposition: "Si ergo pro Fide, quæ universalis vivit Ecclesia, nusquam ferrea corripit arma conceditur,

quomodo pro terrenis ac transitoriis Ecclesiæ facultatibus loricae acies in gladios debacchantur." "When the saints have power they do not even slay heretics and infidels." He proceeds to condemn Leo IX.: "Ad hæc si quis objiciat, bellicis usibus Leonem se frequenter implicuisse Pontificem, verumtamen sanctum esse. Dico quod sentio, quoniam nec Petrus ob hoc Apostolicum obtinet principatum, quia

The conduct of Leo in the campaign belied his early fame. The sagacity and forethought, formerly ascribed to him, utterly failed. Not that he actually took the generalship of his troops in the battle, but all the movements seem to have been made under his guidance. From San Germano he advanced to Capua, accompanied by many bishops, by Frederick of Lorraine the Chancellor of the Empire, the Duke of Gaeta, the Counts of Aquino and Teano. Thence he marched into the Capitanata, the stronghold of the Normans. The Apulians and other Italians flocked to his standard. He had an interview with Argyrous, the Greek Catapan of Calabria, who promised his succour. He fixed his quarters at Civitella, and launched his first blow, the excommunication of the Normans. The Normans either were, or pretended to be, appalled by these vast preparations. They offered terms of submission. These were peremptorily refused by Frederick of Lorraine: the only condition offered was their total abandonment of Italy. The Pope saw not the danger of driving them to despair. He pushed forward his troops to the banks of the Furtorio, near Dragonata. The German troops were not above 500. The terrible Normans mustered 3000 knights, men who were said to be able to cleave an enemy from the head to the saddle with one blow. They were commanded by the sons of Tancred, Humfrey, Richard of Aversa, and the yet unrenowned Robert Guiscard. Three days the armies

June 18,
1053.

negavit; nec David idcirco prophetica meretur oraculum, quia torum alieni viri invasit." It is curious to read Damiani's commentator, trying to make out that Damiani does not condemn the Pope's using the sword as a

temporal prince. How would the old Saint, who compared Leo's wars with the denial of Peter, and the adultery of David, have scorned this distinction. —Damiani, Epist. iv. 9.

watched each other. While the negotiations were pending, the Normans occupied a hill, on which depended the fate of the battle. The fourth day they burst down in three squadrons. The Lombards, on one wing, the Apulians on the other, fled at once: the Germans were surrounded and cut to pieces to a man.

The Normans rushed from the field to seize the Pope at Civitella. An accidental conflagration repelled them for that night: the next day they entered the town. The humbled Pope at once relieved them from their excommunication: they became again sons of the Church. Was it religious awe, or was it subtle policy, which made them at once her obsequious sons? The rude soldiery perhaps from dread, the leaders from that craft in which the Normans excelled as much as in valour, cast themselves down before the Pope, entreated his pardon, professed deep penitence. But they lost no time in securing again all the cities which had thrown off their yoke. Count Humfrey, the gentlest of the sons of Tancred, remained as gaoler, or as an attendant on the Pope. Leo was allowed to visit the battle-field,^k to bury his own soldiers with the honours of martyrs. He declared that he had heavenly visions of their glory, as having died for the faith. The Normans themselves afterwards assisted in building a church over their remains. The Pope was conducted with all respect by Count Humfrey to Benevento: there he remained, a prisoner, though treated with the most profound outward reverence, for some months.

Heart-broken at the failure of all his schemes; perhaps now conscious of his own unclerical conduct, in

^k The battle was fought June 16, 1053. Leo set off for Rome March 21 1054.

becoming the leader of an army; seeing the divine condemnation in his abasement, his imprisonment, notwithstanding the courteous and deferential demeanour of the Normans; knowing that he was absolutely in their power, the pious Leo betook himself to the severest acts of penitential austerity. He wore nothing but sackcloth; he slept on a carpet, with a stone for his pillow, the few hours which he allowed for sleep. Every day he performed mass; almost all the rest of the day and night were passed in prayer and the recital of the Psalter. He did not absolutely neglect his ecclesiastical functions; he appointed a new abbot of Santa Sophia, in Benevento. He kept up a correspondence with Africa, with Constantinople, with the most remote parts of Latin Christendom; but his chief occupation, besides his prayers, was works of charity. His admirers glorify his imprisonment with many miracles. But his sorrow and his macerations had wasted all his strength; the hand of death was upon him. The Normans, perhaps out of compassion, perhaps lest they should be accused of the death of the Pope while in their hands, were willing to release the dying man. On the 12th of March he left Benevento, under the escort of the Norman Humfrey. He was obliged to rest twelve days at Capua. He arrived at Rome, but repressed the universal joy by melancholy intimations of his approaching death, too visibly confirmed by his helpless condition. His calm departure reaches sublimity. He ordered his coffin to be carried to St. Peter's; he reposed on a couch by its side. There he gave his last admonitions to the ecclesiastics around, entreating them to abstain from simony and the alienation of the estates of the Church; there he received the last sacraments. He rose with difficulty, and looked into his coffin.

"Behold, my brethren, the mutability of human things. The cell which was my dwelling when a monk expanded into yonder spacious palace; it shrinks again into this narrow coffin." The next morning he was dead. He died before the altar of St. Peter's. As might be expected, his death had been announced by visions: monks had beheld in their dreams angels in white robes by his bed-side. Wonderful cures immediately followed his departure. A devil, who had possessed a Tuscan woman for above nine years, confessed that Leo had already ascended to heaven, and that it was by his power that he was driven forth. A woman laughed this tale to scorn; she was seized by the expelled fiend, and compelled to pray to the new Saint. The lame, the dumb, the lepers, were brought from all parts of Italy to touch his remains. Churches were built to his honour in Benevento, in Toul, and in many other cities.

April 13,
1059.

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of German Popes.

HILDEBRAND having concluded his hasty treaty with Berengar, but not leading with him, as he had threatened, the captive heretic, travelled with the utmost speed to Rome. Pope Leo, it is said, had bequeathed the administration of the see, during the vacancy, to the Cardinal-subdeacon; but tumults were threatened, or actually broke out: the party of Benedict, the old Roman party, was not extinct. According to one account, it made a bold attempt to regain its power. Hildebrand was too wise as yet to aspire to the unsafe dignity. The Pope must be a wealthy prelate, for the larger part of the papal domains were still in the hands of the baronial plunderers. An Italian pope of the most awful piety, of the most determined energy, would only have wielded spiritual weapons, to which those lawless men had been too long habituated, not to laugh them to scorn. The Pope must command the imperial protection, without which Rome might at any time become the prey of the Normans. That terrible race had again resumed their hostile aspect; their ally, the Count of Reate, had not scrupled to seize and imprison, on their return from Constantinople, the future Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine and the other legates of Pope Leo. The Pope would have become the slave, he had not yet learned the wiser policy of being the patron and ally, of these barbarians. After some months it was

determined to send an embassy to the Emperor, at the head of which was Hildebrand himself, to implore his nomination. But Hildebrand had already determined upon his choice—a Pope who might meet the exigencies of the times, and whose election would so flatter the Emperor, that he would hardly refuse to concur cordially in the appointment. Gebhard of Eichstadt was one of the richest, undoubtedly the ablest of the German prelates. Gebhard might be considered the remote cause of the discomfiture of Leo at Civitella, and of his premature death. He it was who had advised the Emperor to countermand the march of the great body of his troops to the support of Leo. He had veiled this act of jealous hostility to Leo under affected scorn of the Normans; “with two hundred knights he would chase them from Italy.” If Gebhard could command the German troops to retire, he could command them to advance in these perilous times to the rescue of Rome.

The rise of Gebhard of Eichstadt to power and influence had been rapid and extraordinary. Gebhard, Bishop of Ratisbon, the uncle of the Emperor, had demanded for his favourite, Cuno, the succession to the see of Eichstadt. From some latent cause, on the pretext that Cuno was the son of a married priest, Henry refused the nomination, but endeavoured to propitiate his uncle by leaving the appointment absolutely in his power. The Bishop of Ratisbon immediately named Gebhard, a remote descendant of the noble house of Calw. To the Emperor's objection against his extreme youth, the bishop replied with prophetic sagacity, that Gebhard would rise to still higher honours. This vaticination began immediately to give promise of fulfilment. The Bishop of Eichstadt showed consummate abilities; he

was of the greatest service to the Emperor in most difficult circumstances, particularly during the Hungarian war. He became his most intimate and confidential counsellor.

It was a great stroke of policy to secure the full exertion of the imperial power for the reinstatement of the Pope in the dignity and security of his office; to repel the Normans, perhaps to wrest back from their unworthy possessors some of the estates of the see: while at the same time it deprived the Emperor of a counsellor who was most likely to give success to his policy, to the German policy, of retaining the Pope in obsequious vassalage to the Empire. It might be boldly predicted from the ambition and abilities of such a Pope as Gebhard, that after the great work of the re-establishment of the papacy was completed, the Churchman, as in his predecessors, would predominate over the faithful subject, the Italian Pope over the German Liegeman. Gebhard foresaw the danger, shrank from the temptation; he had rather remain the commanding counsellor than the equal, the rival, it might be the enemy, of his master. He yielded to the pressing entreaties of Hildebrand and the Romans, and of his Imperial sovereign, only after long delay, only on the significant terms that the Emperor would restore the rights and possessions which he held belonging to the papacy. This speech implied the pledge of his assistance to recover those usurped by others. A whole year had elapsed before the successor of Leo IX. was inaugurated at Rome under the name of Victor II.

April 13,
1055.

The Emperor followed his Pope into Italy at the head of an imposing and powerful array. But a new enemy had arisen, if not more formidable, more hateful to the Emperor than the Normans or the usurpers of the Papal

estates. Godfrey the Bearded, the deposed Duke of Lorraine, had been Henry's ancient antagonist. Godfrey, anathematised by Leo IX., deserted by his allies, had submitted to the loss of his hereditary dukedom; he had led an aimless and adventurous life. One of the acts which was considered as betraying hostility to the Emperor in Pope Leo, had been the elevation of Godfrey's brother, Frederick of Lorraine, to the Cardinalate, and to the highest honours of the Church. Godfrey had accompanied his brother, the Cardinal Legate, on his mission to Constantinople. On his return he married Beatrice, the widow of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, who had been murdered A.D. 1052.

a few years before. The whole inheritance of that family, the most powerful in Italy, the inheritance which, afterwards falling to the famous Countess Matilda, was the great source of the independence and overweening power of Gregory VII., was at the command of the Emperor's implacable enemy. The depression of the house of Lorraine was the one object which now occupied the Emperor. The mother and her daughter fell into his hands. Godfrey of Lorraine was forced to abandon his Italian possessions; he fled to Germany, to stir up more perilous revolt against the Imperial authority. The Cardinal Frederick, pursued by the implacable jealousy of the Emperor, did not find himself safe even in the holy sanctuary of Monte Casino. He took refuge in a more unapproachable monastery in the rocky island of Thiermita, to emerge in a short time, under other circumstances, as the Supreme Pontiff.

Pope Victor II. held a council in the presence of the Emperor at Florence, then an important city. Besides the ordinary denunciations against simoniacal proceedings, and a new May 27.

sentence against the excommunicated Berengar, a decree was passed which attempted to strike at the root of that evil which impoverished the papacy, broke up the Church property into small pieces, and made laymen the actual possessors of the estates of the Church. It prohibited, under pain of excommunication, all bishops and abbots from granting the estates of the Church as fiefs to knights or nobles. The Pope set the example of this new proceeding; on the falling in of the fief of Spoleto and Camerina, he became himself the Marquis. He proceeded, no doubt under the awe of the protection of his imperial master, to resume other lands which had been rashly and fraudulently granted away in the more turbulent periods to the barons of the Romagna.

But, whether from his severity in the condemnation of simony, the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline, or the threatened resumption of the estates of the Church, the Italian hatred to a German Pope soon found a man bold and guilty enough to endeavour the murder of Victor. A subdeacon mingled poison even with the blood of the Lord in the Eucharist. The story took the form of legend; the Pope could not lift the chalice; he entreated the prayers of the faithful to enable him to investigate the cause of this wonder; the affrighted culprit fell on his knees and confessed, or, as it was said, the dæmon who possessed him confessed his guilt.

The Emperor, on the news of threatened insurrection, had hastened back to Germany. Instead of descending again in the next year to Italy, he sent messenger after messenger pressing the return of his one faithful and wise counsellor to Germany. The Empire was in open or secret revolt in many parts. Godfrey of Lorraine

had organised an insurrection ; France threatened war : the Pope hastened to the aid of his old master. He arrived at Goslar to receive his confession, to administer the last Sacraments. The Emperor, in consequence of violent exertion in the chace, had caught a fever, which, working on a mind harassed by the perplexing state of affairs, brought him to the grave. He died, Oct 5, 1056.
 forgiving all his enemies, making restitution (Oct. 28.)
 of all which he had unjustly possessed, bequeathing his infant son to the care of the Pope. He was buried by the faithful Pope at Spires.

Victor II., Gebhard of Eichstadt, was now in power both Pope and Emperor ; his wise moderation appeased the angry conflict in Germany. He reconciled Baldwin of Flanders to the young king by a timely concession of his hereditary dukedom. He allayed the enmity of Godfrey of Lorraine ; he gave no offence to those who were most likely to take offence at this pre-June, 1057.
 eminent elevation of one of their own order, Oct. 29, 1056.
 the great prelates of Germany ; he raised the celebrated Adalbert into a metropolitan of Northern Germany, as Archbishop of Hamburg. He sent Hildebrand again into France to reform the Church, to depose the simoniacal prelates, to wrest the power and the wealth of the clergy out of the hands of the laity. In Italy it had already, before the Emperor's death, begun to appear that the Pope now wielded the power of the Empire. He had made a progress into the March of Nov., Dec.,
 Ancona as Duke of Spoleto and Marquis of 1055.
 Camerina and Fermo and of the March of Ancona. He raised his tribunal, and was received with the utmost submission ; many of the unruly barons attended obsequiously upon his court. He summoned the Count Teuto and his sons for unlawfully withholding the castle

of La Vitice from the Bishop of Teramo. The contumacious Teuto not appearing, the judge of the Pope declared him in rebellion, pronounced against him the ban of the Empire and of the Pope, and gave orders to take the castle by force. These proceedings were not always carried out without strong murmurs. Peter Damiani, in one case, thought himself called upon to intrude his remonstrances, and to admonish Pope Victor as to the observance of more equal justice. It was an ungrateful return to God who raised Victor to the favour of the Emperor, and had now invested him with imperial power, to abuse that power, to despoil unrightfully a man who had withdrawn from the world and dedicated himself to Christ.^a But at the summons of Pope Victor a

April 18,
1057.

large synod of bishops from Northern and Central Italy met at Florence; those of Florence, Arezzo, Nocera, Castello, Popilia, Sienna, Vercelli, Turin, Eugubio, Velletri, Fiesole, Pisa, Pistoia. Of the acts of this Synod nothing is known but the presentation of Frederick of Lorraine, fallen into such disgrace with the Emperor Henry III., but now wisely restored to favour, as Abbot of Monte Casino to the Pope.^b Frederick was received with the utmost courtesy, confirmed as abbot, and at the same time acknowledged as the Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus in the Roman Church. The ambition of Victor rose with his power; his grants assume a loftier tone; the Apostolic throne of Peter,

^a Damiani, Epist. i. v. The circumstances to which Damiani alludes are unknown.

^b Read in Tosti Storia della Badia di Monte Casino, i. p. 211, the curious account of the elevation of Frederick of Lorraine by a bold Papal intrigue to the Abbacy, the forcible deposition

of the pious and aged Abbot Peter, the courageous stand of the monks for their right of election. (They had an Imperial edict absolutely exempting them even from Papal jurisdiction) "fu tutta opera del generoso e forte monaco Hildebrando." So writes Tosti. The whole early history of Monte

the chief of the Apostles, is raised high above all people, and all realms, that he may pluck up and destroy plant and build in his name. He was preparing again to cross the Alps to arrange, in his character of guardian of the Empire, with the Empress Agnes the affairs of Germany; he was meditating a second great Council at Rheims, to accomplish the reform in the Church of France. He suddenly died at Arezzo, and with him expired all these magnificent schemes of universal rule.

July 28,
1057.

When the unexpected intelligence of Pope Victor's death arrived at Rome, the Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine had not departed to Monte Casino. The death of Victor caused almost a vacancy in the Empire as well as in the Papacy. The Empress mother alone, now deprived of her ablest counsellor, and her young son, represented the Franconian Cæsars. The House of Lorraine was in the ascendant; not only had Duke Godfrey been permitted to resume his hereditary rank and title, Victor, the Pope, had either from policy consented, or yielded through fear, to admit Godfrey and his wife Beatrice of Tuscany as joint representatives of the Empire, and as rulers of Italy. Frederick of Lorraine was not a Roman, not even an Italian, but he was the

Casino is a singularly vivid and instructive illustration of the times. The foundation of S. Benedict had martial Abbots, who stood in arms against the fierce Lombard counts and dukes, and the hardly more ferocious Saracens; a Martyr Abbot who was slain before the altar; ambitious Abbots akin to the Lords of Capua and Naples who obtained by force or fraud the coveted dignity; holy Abbots, who won the homage of mankind by

their virtues. Prefects, Kings, Emperors vied with each other in lavish grants of domains or wealth to Monte Casino. Those domains and that wealth became the object of plunder to Lombard, Saracen, or Norman; and was hardly lost before it was recovered or replaced by religious awe or superstitious terror. The Abbot of Monte Casino became a personage, sometimes hardly of less importance than the Pope himself.

hereditary enemy of the Imperial House; he had suffered bitter persecution from the late Emperor. The Romans determined to seize the occasion of reasserting their privilege of themselves creating the Pope without regard to the permission or sanction of the Emperor. Hildebrand was absent: and as they still hesitated, they consulted the Abbot of Monte Casino concerning the future Pope. Frederick of Lorraine named no single prelate; he embarrassed them (if indeed the whole was not well understood between the parties) with the choice among five prelates, Humbert Cardinal Bishop of St. Rufino, the Bishops of Velletri, of Tusculum, and of Perugia, and the Subdeacon Hildebrand. It was proposed to await Hildebrand's return; but the dominant party would hear of no delay. They declared none of these to be equal to the Papacy; Frederick of Lorraine himself must be the Pope. "Be it as you will," said the unresisting Abbot, "ye can only do what God permits you to do." Five days after the death of Victor, Stephen Pope, Aug. 2, 1057. Frederick, under the name of Stephen IX., was inaugurated in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, and installed amid universal joy in the Lateran Palace. Frederick of Lorraine was a churchman of the sternest and haughtiest views. As the Legate of Leo IX. at Constantinople, he had asserted the Roman supremacy in the strongest terms. He had anathematised the Byzantine Church in language which, notwithstanding that the policy of the reigning Emperor Constantine Monomachus (intent on retaining, as an ally of the Pope, his small remaining territory in the south of Italy) led him to endure any degradation of his Church by the representatives of the Pope, eventually tended to widen the irreparable breach between the East and West. He drew up, with his colleagues, a paper which

he solemnly deposed on the high altar of St. Sophia, which, while it condescended to admit that among the pillars of the realm and the great dignitaries of the state, they had found much true faith and orthodox doctrine; asserted that the so-called Patriarch and his followers were sowing the seeds of all imaginable heresies. Like the Simonists, they sold the grace of God: like the Valesians, they appointed men whom they had castrated not only to the priesthood but to the episcopate;^c like the Arians, they rebaptised those who had been baptised before in the name of the Holy Trinity, even Latin Christians; like the Donatists, they declared that without the Church of Byzantium was no true Church, the sacraments were of none effect: like the Nicolaïtes, they permitted carnal union to priests; like the Severians, they declared the law of Moses accursed, and cut off from the article about the Holy Ghost his procession from the Son as from the Father: like the Manicheans, they asserted that whatever is leavened has life. Like the Nazarenes, they so highly respect the purification of the Jews, that they do not baptise children who die before the eighth day, and do not administer the communion to women who are in danger during childbirth; if heathens, do not baptise them. Finally, they do not, because they themselves wear their hair and beard long, admit to the communion those who, according to the Roman usage, clip their hair and shave their chins. "Accursed, therefore, be Michael, miscalled Patriarch, Leo Bishop of Acrida, and all their followers, with those of Simon, Vales, Donatus, Arius, Nicolaus, Severus, with all the enemies of God and the Holy Ghost, the Mani-

^c Compare on this extraordinary charge against these Valesians (Valentinians, qu.?) the letter in Mansi.

cheans and Nazarenes, and all heretics, yea with the Devil and his Angels. Amen! amen! amen!" With this protest Frederick of Lorraine and the other legates had shaken the dust from their feet, and left guilty Constantinople.

The Abbot of Monte Casino was a rigid monk as well as a haughty churchman: the appointment of Peter Damiani, the austere champion of clerical *celibacy*, the sworn enemy of the married clergy, to the cardinalate, showed to the world the inclination of his mind on these great points, on which the Church was plunging into a mortal contest.

But the secular prince, the heir of a German dukedom, was not sunk either in the monk or in the churchman. Pope Stephen IX. had great schemes at once for the deliverance of Italy, for the elevation of his own family, perhaps some undetected desire of revenge against the house of his enemy, Henry III. He proposed, by the aid of Godfrey, now in possession of the marquisate of Tuscany, to expel the Normans from Italy, and afterwards to elevate Godfrey, the deliverer and master of Italy, to the Imperial throne. But great means were necessary to arm a force sufficiently powerful to subdue the Normans. The Abbot of Monte Casino (he was still Abbot) remembered the vast treasures which the piety of centuries had accumulated in the vaults of Monte Casino (though once plundered by the Saracens),^d the votive offerings to St. Benedict, whom every devout monk considered his spiritual ancestor. He caused these treasures to be conveyed to Rome: he intended to devote them to this sacred crusade. But as he surveyed them religious terror seized his mind.

^d Leo Ostien.

visions were not wanting in which the holy Benedict and his sister Scolastica appeared to pious worshippers to protest against and to denounce this sacrilegious alienation of their riches. In an agony of remorse the Pope sent back the whole, except one picture, which himself had brought from Constantinople. The secret of this conduct is clear: it was the consciousness of failing health which repressed the bold ambition of the Pope. On St. Andrew's day, but four months after his election, he had retired to Monte Casino. At Christmas he was seized with a violent illness, and was at the point of death. Already had he begun to take measures for the administration of affairs after his decease. On his return to Rome in February, an access of returning health re-awakened his paralysed ambition. But the hand of death was upon him. He set off for Florence, turned aside to visit the holy Gualberto in his retirement at Vallombrosa, and after a few days died in his arms.

Christmas,
1057.

Feb. 10, 1058.

March 29,
1058.

The death of Stephen IX. was no sooner announced in Rome than each faction took its measures. The Imperial party sent a submissive message to the Empress Agnes, laying the nomination at the feet of her and of her son. But the old Roman feudatory barons, who had been already compelled to relax their hold on some of the wealth of the Church, saw at once their opportunity to seize the Papal election again into their own hands. The minority of the Emperor gave them courage. The Count of Tusculum, the Count of Galeria, the Crescentii of Monticello, rose without delay. John Mincius, the Cardinal Bishop of Velletri, had been one of the five prelates named by Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine on the death of Victor II.: he was of the famous house of Crescentius. Him they persuaded or compelled to accept

the dignity. He was hastily inaugurated, enthroned by night, and took the name of Benedict X. From him they proceeded to extort the most lavish grants. They plundered the treasures, no doubt on the specious pretext of purchasing the good-will of the people. The sacred oblations of St. Peter were not secure; the hammer of the coiner was heard beating up those holy ornaments into money. The cardinals present, protested, and fled from Rome. Cardinal Humbert of St. Sabina, and Peter of Tusculum returned from the burial of the Pope: they found Benedict on the throne, the Romans submitting to a Roman Pope. They withdrew in all haste to Florence, to concert measures with him whose master-mind they had begun to acknowledge. Hildebrand was accidentally at the Imperial Court, on a mission from the late Pope; he would have no difficulty in rousing the resentment of the Empress against this usurpation, this insult, after the nomination had been offered by the Romans. She empowered him to proceed to a new election. Hildebrand alleged the specious reason of visiting the tomb of his late benefactor, the deceased Stephen IX., for delay in Florence. There he enlisted in the same cause the ancient enemy of the Imperial House and of the Empress, Godfrey of Lorraine, the Marquis of Tuscany. Rivals for the empire, these two potentates had a common interest in wresting the appointment to the Papacy from the lawless Romans, a common worldly interest, if not a religious dread of seeing the Papacy, notwithstanding the high character of the Pontiff elect, designated by the former Pope as one of the five most worthy ecclesiastics, sink to its former degradation. The choice skilfully adapted itself to the hopes and passions of both parties. It was Gerard, a Burgundian, a fellow student of the Lorrainer, the late

Pope Stephen IX., now the Archbishop of Florence, and therefore connected, no doubt, with Godfrey, who heartily concurred in the choice.* The price of the concurrence of the Empress was a secret stipulation to crown her son as emperor. The anti-Pope took the name of Nicolas II. He moved to Sutri, escorted by Godfrey of Tuscany, supported by Guibert of Parma, the Chance'llor of the Empire, whom he had summoned to attend at Sutri in a council of bishops.

Jan. 1059

Pope Benedict was declared excommunicate, Nicolas II. the rightful Pope. Resistance was vain. Nicolas II. advanced to Rome: he was received with apparent joy by the clergy and the people; the barons had disappeared with their plunder.

The Pontificate of Nicolas II. witnessed the two great changes in the Papal policy, which laid the foundations of its vast mediæval power—the decree for the election of the Pope by the cardinals of Rome, and the alliance with the Normans. With the aid of the Hagarenes (so are the Normans called) Nicolas besieged his rival in Galeria. The Count of that fortress repented of his rashness in offering protection to the Pope Benedict. Benedict ascended the walls; he began to make signs, to utter curses against the Roman people. "You have forced me, against my will, to be your Pope; give me security for my life, and I will renounce the Pontificate." Thirty Roman nobles pledged themselves as his guarantees for life and limb, for his safe reception in Rome. Nicolas, at the head of his army, returned to Rome; his rival followed, having stripped himself of his pontifical robes, and found a retreat with his mother; who lived near the Church of

Nicolas II.
Pope.

* "Annitente Gothofredo duce."—Leo Ostien. iii. 12.

S. Maria Maggiore. Thirty days after, Hildebrand the archdeacon seized him by force, and placed
April 13. him before Nicolas and a council in the Lateran church. They stripped him before the altar of his pontifical robes (in which he had been again invested), set him thus despoiled before the synod, put a writing in his hand, containing a long confession of every kind of wickedness. He resisted a long time, knowing himself perfectly innocent of such crimes: he was compelled to read it with very many tears and groans. His mother stood by, her hair dishevelled, and her bosom bare, with many sobs and lamentations. His kindred stood weeping around. Hildebrand then cried aloud to the people,—"These are the deeds of the Pope whom ye have chosen!" They re-arrayed him in the pontifical robes, and formally deposed him. He was allowed to retire to the monastery of S. Agnes, where he lived in the utmost wretchedness. They prohibited him from all holy functions, would not allow him to enter the choir. By the intercession of the Archpresbyter of S. Anastasia, he was permitted at length to read the Epistle; a short time after, the Gospel; but never suffered to celebrate mass. He lived to the Pontificate of Hildebrand, who, when informed of his death, said, "In evil hour did I behold him; I have committed a great sin." Hildebrand commanded that he should be buried with pontifical honours.[†]

Immediately on his accession, while he was yet in his strength, supported both by the Imperial power and by the Marquis of Tuscany, while Rome and the barons were depressed by their late discomfiture, Nicolas II.

[†] *Annales Romani*, first, I believe, published by Pertz vol. v. Pertz thinks that these annals had been seen by Barcnius.

summoned a council, the second Lateran council in Rome. A hundred and thirteen bishops obeyed the call. The first decree of this assembly wrested at once the power of nominating the Pope from the lower clergy, the turbulent barons, and the populace. It left to the people and to the Emperor a barren approbation, but it vested the actual election solely in the higher clergy. With the cardinal bishops was the initiative; the assent of the cardinal priests and deacons was first required, then that of the laity, and finally that of the Emperor.⁵ The higher spiritual aristocracy took the lead, the others were to be their humble followers.^h Besides this, it established a kind of prerogative right in the Roman clergy to the Pontificate: only in default of a fit person within that Church was a stranger to be admitted to the honour. Rome was to be the place of election; but even Rome, by tumult or by contumacy, might forfeit her privilege. Wherever the cardinals were assembled, there was Rome. It had been at Sienna or at Sutri. In case the election could not take place within the city—and of this they were the sole judges—the cardinals, assisted by some of the religious clergy and religious laity, even though few (their religion would be their fidelity to their party), might proceed elsewhere to the election. The Imperial rights were reserved vaguely and ambiguously.ⁱ

A.D. 1059.
April 13.

⁵ "Nimirum cum Electio illa per Episcoporum Cardinalium fieri debeat principale *judicium*; secundo loco jure præbeat clericus *assensum*; tertio popularis favor attollat *applausum*; sicque suspendenda est causa, usque dum regie celsitudinis consulatur auctoritas: nisi, sicut nuper contigit, periculum fortassis immineat, quod rem quantocyus accelerare compellat." —Peter Damian. i. Epist. xx.

^h "Et ideo religiosissimi viri præduces sint in promovendâ pontificis electione: reliqui autem sequaces." The religiositas unhappily was estimated solely by rank in the Church.

ⁱ "Cardinales Episcopi, cum religiosus clericus, Catholicisque Laicia,

This decree, and an anathema of more than usual terror (the most dreadful imprecations in the Scripture were selected with sedulous care), was ratified by the consent of all, by the signature of above 70 bishops, with many other ecclesiastics. The anathema condemned the offender against the statute to irrevocable excommunication, to be counted among the wicked to all eternity. "May he endure the wrath of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that of St. Peter, and St. Paul, in this life and the next! May his house be desolate, and no one dwell in his tents! Be his children orphans, his wife a widow, his sons outcasts and beggars! May the usurer consume his substance, the stranger reap his labours; may all the world and all the elements war upon him, and the merits of all the saints which sleep in the Lord, confound and inflict visible vengeance during this life! Whosoever, on the other hand, shall keep this law, by the authority of St. Peter is absolved from all his 'sins.'" Yet two years were hardly passed, when on the death of Nicolas a contested election distracted the Church of Rome; and some of the subscribing bishops are found in each furious faction.

The same Council, the second Lateran Council, which had thus made provision for the unity of the church by a new form of election, which had wrung the misused power from a lawless and irresponsible body, and seemed to repose it in security in the most holy and intelligent of the sacerdotal order; aspired also to esta-

hinc paucis, jus potestatis obtineant eligere Apostolicæ sedis pontificem, ubi congruere viderint."—Conc. ii. Lateran. Throughout, however, there is a respectful reservation of the imperial right: "*Salvo debito honore et* reverentiâ Henrici, qui in presentiarum rex habetur, et futurus imperator speratur." The last clause cited above has in the copy in Pertz: "*Ubi cum rege congruentius judicaverunt.*"—Pertz, *Leges*, ii. App. p. 177.

blish the endangered unity of doctrine, and authoritatively to decide the most perilous theological controversy which had arisen in Latin Christendom. Berengar of Tours had been persuaded or compelled to appear before the Lateran Council. He had his choice between death and the recantation of his tenets. But logic makes no martyrs. The temperament of Berengar's mind was not that of a reckless fanatic.^k He fairly confesses that the fear of death extracted from him the humiliating admission of his errors; he accepted a creed equivocal according to his view, and elusive of the main question, in which the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist was distinctly asserted, though not in the strongest terms of transubstantiation. No sooner was he beyond the power of his adversaries, than Berengar recanted his recantation; reassumed the contemptuous language of a superior mind towards Pope Nicolas himself; reasserted the doctrines of his master Erigena, whom in the presence of danger he had not hesitated to forswear. But though the decree of the Lateran Council had no effect on Berengar, it had for a short time the effect of almost suppressing his doctrine.^m Yet as will appear, it was

^k Compare Berengar's own account of these proceedings: he claims the victory, and boastfully avers that, by their own terms, the bread, as he had always asserted, remains after consecration.—p. 70 *et seq.* "Dum dicitur, *panis* in altari consecratio, vel *panis* sanctus, *panis* sacrosanctus est Christi corpus, omni veritate panis superesse conceditur."

^m Among the most bold of Berengar's assertions was his protest against the assumption so perpetually made, that a certain doctrine, because supported

by the majority, is the doctrine of the whole Church. He boasts multitudes who hold his opinions: "Quod nomen Ecclesiæ totiens ineptorum multitudini tribuis, facis contra sensa majorum:—quod dicis omnes tenere hanc fidem—contra conscientiam tuam dicis, quam latere non potest, usque eo res agitata est, *quam plurimos* aut pæne *infinitos* esse cujuscunque ordinis, qui tuum de sacrificio Ecclesiæ execrantur errorem, atque Pascasii Corbejensis Monachi."—p. 27.

not altogether swallowed up in the more absorbing question, the marriage of the clergy.

By the decree of the Lateran Council the popedom was restored to Italy, to Rome. The great organised and simultaneous effort of the higher Clergy, to become as it were the chief feudatories and to choose their monarch, had been successful. But the decree of a Council was only a mass of idle words, unless the Papacy could command some strong military force to secure its independence against domestic and against foreign foes. Either the Emperor must still dictate, or the Roman barons overawe the election. The Pope with all his magnificent pretensions was but a defenceless vassal, a vassal dependent on foreign resources for his maintenance on his throne.

The second great act of the pontificate of Nicolas II. was the conversion of the hostile, the unbelieving Normans into the faithful allies, the body guard of the Pope. The Normans were now in almost undisputed possession of the whole of Southern Italy: the Greek Argyrous, the last Catapan, the ally of Leo IX., had retired in despair, finding his dominions almost shrunk to the one faithful city of Reggio at the very verge of Calabria, to Constantinople. The Normans were not less politic than brave; they were not without superstition; their policy and their superstition might render them the allies, the protectors of the Papacy. Robert Guiscard, the most powerful of the Norman princes, no doubt knowing how such advances would be received, sent an embassy to Rome, to request the revocation of the ban of excommunication, still in force against his Normans. The Pope made a progress, partly of a spiritual, partly of a secular character, in the South. He held a synod at

Alliance
with the
Normans,
June 24,
1059.

Melfi; the extirpation of concubinage, universal among the Neapolitan clergy, was the pretext;ⁿ the Norman treaty the real object. The Normans wanted a more imposing title than that of conquest to their Italian possessions. They were not disposed to question the right of one, who was on his part disposed to make such title on his own authority. The Pope wanted the Norman aid, he scrupled not to advance the enormous pretension of a seignorial suzerainty over the whole kingdom of Naples, how devolved and how obtained, or on what ground, no one ever presumed or cared to inquire, and no one as yet has been able to answer, though few for centuries could safely dispute. He invested the Norman Richard in the principality of Capua; Robert Guiscard in the Dukedom of Apulia, of Calabria, and of Sicily, which he was to recover from the Saracens.

The Sovereign was not long in putting his feudatories to the test of their fidelity. The Pope returned to Rome, followed by his new Prætorian guards. Their first duty, which they undertook with fierce delight, was the extermination, or at least the humiliation of those ruthless nobles, who had so long ruled over Rome. They trampled on the pride of the Counts of Tusculum, Præneste, and Nomentana,^o who looked out from their

ⁿ "Hic ecclesiastica propter
Ad partes illas tractanda negotia venit.
Namque sacerdotes, Levitæ, clericus
omnis
Hæc regione palam se conjugio sociabant.
Concilium celebrans ibi Papa faventibus illi
Præsulibus centum jus ad synodale
vocat, is
Ferre sacerdotes monet altarisque ministros
Arma pudicitie: vocat hos et præcipit
esse
Ecclesiæ sponsores, quia non est jure sacerdos
Luxuriæ cultor; sic extirpavit ab illis

Partibus uxores omnino Presbyterorum
Spretos minitans anathemate percutiendos."—*Gul. App.*, lib. ii.; *Muratori*, v. 202.
The clergy of the kingdom of Naples, like that of the rest of Italy, were to a great extent married: they were Greeks in this usage, as in subjection to the empire; but Nicolas and the Normans were leagued to extirpate all Greek influences.

^o "Nam non solum Tusculanorum, et Prænesunorum et Nomentanorum

inaccessible castles to see their territories wasted with fire and sword; and were even driven to go to Rome and make their peace with the Pope. The Normans crossed the Tiber, attacked the Count of Galeria, whose castle commanded the road to Rome, and who plundered all the pilgrims on their way. This ruffian had been vainly anathematised by each succeeding Pope, the last time in full synod by Nicolas himself, for robbing an English archbishop (Stigand of Canterbury) and an English Count of 1000 pounds.^p This castle and others as far as Sutri they demolished or subdued.

The proceedings of Nicolas II., this absolute Italianisation of the Pope, this close alliance with the only race who could confront the military prowess of the Germans, were watched with the utmost jealousy by the Imperialists in Italy, and by the whole of Germany. At Florence Nicolas felt the approach of death, he began to take measures for the appointment of his successor. It was his manifest aim absolutely to exclude the Germans from all hope, from all concern in this splendid inheritance. Already the great German prelates had observed, that all which the Lateran Council had left to the Emperor had been the supercilious notification by the Cardinals of the appointment to the Papacy, or if this statute might bear a stronger interpretation, Pope Nicolas is said to have issued a second decree almost annulling the consent of the Emperor. Hanno of Cologne, who had already been involved in some dispute with Pope Nicolas, with the consent of the other great prelates of Germany, took up the cause of

superbiam calcaverunt, sed et Romam transeuntes, Galeriam et omnia castra Comitis Gerardi, usque Sutrium vastaverunt, quæ res Romanam urbem

Capitaneorum liberavit dominatione." —Bonizo, p. 806.

^p *Money of Pavia, says the Disceptatio Synodalis, p. 1169.*

the Emperor, which was now that of the Transalpine Church ; he sent letters of excommunication, of deposition from the Papal throne to the dying Nicolas. Nicolas is said to have read them with deep affliction, and immediately to have expired.⁹ July 27, 1061.

The Cardinals on the death of Nicolas still held together, yet they did not venture at once to act upon the Lateran decrees or that of the deceased Pope. They feared, or were too prudent to defy the whole German interest. The Counts of Tusculum and the other barons, in revenge for their humiliation, threw themselves headlong into the Imperial faction. They sent the golden crown and the other insignia of the Patriarchate to the young Henry, and urged him to nominate a Pope, not a Roman. It might be seen at once at whom was pointed their sentence of exclusion. The Cardinals likewise sent a Legate, the Cardinal Stephen, to the youthful King and to his mother. This Cardinal was not admitted, probably as representing a body who were usurping the rights of the Empire.

Hildebrand knew that his time was not yet come ; and of all the great qualifications of this lofty Churchman, nothing is more extraordinary than his suppression of his personal ambition, the patience with which he

⁹ "Ad vindicandam vero suam aliorumque injuriam erexit se animo Coloniensis. . . . Communi consensu orthodoxorum episcoporum, direxit illis (the Pope and the Cardinals) excommunicationis epistolam, quâ visâ et dolens et gemens præsentem (the Pope) deseruit vitam." This passage of Benzo (lib. vii. p. 397) is partly confirmed by a passage from Anselm of Lucca (or Cardinal Deusdedit), who asserts that the Emperor and the

Germans had made themselves unworthy even of this scanty mark of respect, the notification of the appointment of the Pope: "Primum quia postea Nicolaum Coloniensem Archiepiscopum pro suis excessibus corripuisse graviter tulerunt, cumque hujus gratiâ, quantum in se erat, a Papatu deposuerunt, et nomen ejusdem in canone consecrationis nominari vetuerunt." Ap. Canis. Antiq. Lect. vi. p. 221. Compare Höfer, p. 358.

was content to work in a subordinate station, to be the first in influence without being the first in worldly dignity. Nor was there any other ecclesiastic in the Church of Rome whom he dared or chose to advance. The vacaney continued for three months, even before the initiatory nomination of the Cardinals took place. At length they chose a Lombard, Anselm of Badagio, Bishop of Lucca; but a Lombard with peculiar claims and marked opinions, who brought with him a strong and now triumphant party in Northern Italy; who was the sworn and tried enemy of doctrines odious to a large part, especially odious to the whole monastic section of the Church. Anselm had at one time been proposed as Archbishop of Milan: had he obtained that rank, the feud which was kept alive by the weakness, the connivance, if not the inclination of that great prelate towards the married clergy, had come to an earlier issue.

The Archbishop of Milan was the most powerful prince, when there was not an Italian Emperor or King of Italy, in the north of the Peninsula. The power of the Archbishop, and the use which he could make of this power, cannot be estimated without ascending to the beginning of this century, and even higher than the archiepiscopate of Heribert. Milan owes almost all her glory to her Archbishops. The first restorer of her greatness was Archbishop Anspert. Milan, which had ranked among the nine great cities of the Empire, whose wonders had been commemorated in the poetical panegyric of Ausonius,* had never recovered its utter ruin by Attila. Pavia, under the Ostrogoths and Lombards, was the capital of Northern Italy. The

Anspert
archbishop,
868; died 881.

* "Et Mediolani mira omnia."—Auson. The verses are worth reading.

great Archbishop Anspert (during the reign of Charles the Fat) first assumed his metropolitan dignity over his suffragans of Cremona and Bergamo, and haughtily neglected the citations of the Pope; and when John VIII. commanded the clergy of Milan to proceed to a new election in place of the contumacious prelate, the clergy paid no regard whatever to the mandate. Anspert was a magnificent as well as powerful prelate; he built the porch of San Ambrogio. Heribert, who now stands before us, was the second founder of Milan's greatness. The Archbishop Otto of Visconti (in later times) was the first Lord of Milan, and handed down the ducal dominion (a more dubious title to the gratitude of Milan!) to the house of Visconti.* The prelate-prince Heribert was magnificent in his charities and uncom-
Archbishop
Heribert,
1018.
promising in his assertion of his episcopal rights. During a long famine, more or, less severe, of twenty years, his prodigality to the poor was unexhausted; at the same time he seized with a strong hand all the property of the Church which had been wasted or alienated by the rapacity or weakness of his predecessors. He was esteemed a great divine, but not less a master in worldly policy.† One of his first acts was to cross the Alps,‡ and of his sole authority to elect Conrad the Salic King of Italy. According to the right asserted by the Archbishop of Milan to crown the King of Italy (that of crowning the Emperor belonged to the Pope), Conrad received the famous iron crown from the hand of Heribert;§ and at the diet of Roncaglia, Italy recognised the sovereign thus chosen by the Archbishop of

* Landulph. Sen. li.

† "Divina pollens scientia, secularique ingenio astutus."

‡ Verri, Storia di Milano, c. u. p. 87

§ Arnulfus, Rer. Ital. Script., 12 14; Wippo, Vit. Conrad.

Milan.¹ When Conrad went to Rome to receive the Imperial crown, there broke out one of the fierce quarrels for precedence between the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna. It was suspended for a time by the Pope's authority, but followed by a war, in which the two martial prelates of the same name headed their own forces. Heribert of Ravenna escaped with difficulty within the walls of his city. Among the rewards for his service the Emperor Conrad had bestowed on the Archbishops of Milan the right to appoint, or at least to grant the investiture of the See of Lodi. On the death of the bishop, Heribert hastened to supply the place with a faithful partisan. The clergy and people of Lodi resented this invasion of their rights, and proceeded to another election. Heribert instantly marched upon Lodi; after a vigorous resistance he compelled the city to receive his bishop, and from this cause sprang the implacable hatred between Milan and Lodi.² The martial prelate, also in obedience to the summons of his liege lord, crossed the Alps, and aided Conrad in the conquest of Burgundy. But his own warlike nobles began to rebel against the tyranny of Heribert. The important law of Conrad, passed at the Diet of Roncaglia, had wrought a revolution in the feudal system; it recognised the hereditary descent of fiefs hitherto, nominally at least, held at the will of the suzerain. Heribert refused to admit the vassals of the Church of Milan to this privilege; he seized on a vacant fief, and thus

¹ "Nel corso di ventisette anni ch'egli occupò questa sede, Milano diventò a città precipua della Lombardia."—Verri, p. 124.

² "Ab illo etenim tempore inter Mediolanenses et Laudenses implaca-

bile viguit odium." The Milanese were the more powerful and wealthy; those of Lodi valiant to ferocity (truces). They cared not for loss, if they could inflict loss on their enemies. —Arnulf, ii. c. vii.

embodied against him all the great beneficiaries. They broke out in open rebellion.^a Heribert attempted to allay the mutiny by prudent measures; he then had recourse to force. With the assistance, no doubt, of the people, to whom the tyrannous nobles were odious, he drove them out of the city. They left it in sorrow.^b There, however, they were joined by the lords of the surrounding castles and by the people of Lodi, burning for revenge against Heribert. A great battle took place at Campo Malo; the Bishop of Asti, on Heribert's side, was slain. Heribert, confounded by many desertions, retired into the city, and summoned the Emperor to his aid.^c

Conrad crossed the Alps, but instead of espousing the cause of the Archbishop, offended by the freedom of the populace, he retired to hold ^{A.D. 1037.} his court at Pavia. There, at a great diet, he sat as suzerain, to grant redress to all appellants to his tribunal. A charge was brought against the Archbishop of Milan; it was seconded by clamorous outcries from his enemies. The Emperor commanded the arrest of the Archbishop of Milan, and his partisans the Bishops of Vercelli, Piacenza, and Cremona. The intelligence was received with profound sorrow and indignation at Milan. The clergy chanted solemn litanies for his deliverance, the people rushed to arms. Heribert contrived to escape from his drunken German guards, and threw himself into the city, where he was received with universal joy. The Emperor speedily laid siege to Milan; the Archbishop made a gallant defence, and

^a This, I think, is clear from Arnulf; "Comperit autem occasione cujusdam beneficio privati, subito prorumpunt."—*Ibid.*

^b "Ab urbe discedunt moerentia."—*Ibid.*

^c Arnulf, ii.; Landulph, ii. 22.

Conrad retired discomfited. In revenge he declared Heribert deposed, and appointed a rival prelate. The dauntless Heribert retaliated by secretly endeavouring to set up a rival King of Italy. Insulted and baffled, after having ravaged the whole country in his impotent wrath, the mighty Emperor Conrad retired ^{Aug., A.D. 1038.} 'beyond the Alps.^d' The triumphant Heribert wreaked his vengeance on the adherents of the rival prelate, punishing them in person and in property.'

Thus the conqueror at once of his own rebellious liegemen and of the Emperor himself, the Archbishop ruled his splendid city, which he seemed determined to arm against any future aggression upon its liberties.^e It was at this time that the Christian bishop invented the carroccio, the car-borne standard of Milan, afterwards adopted by the other Italian cities. In the great car rose a tall mast with a transverse beam supporting a banner, on which above were the arms of the city, below the crucified Saviour; visible to the whole army, to animate or console the combatants in success or defeat. The elevation of this banner was the summons which all Milan was to obey, the noble and the peasant, the rich and the poor.^f

Milan, but for her internal dissensions, now relieved by the death of Conrad from her one formidable enemy, might have enjoyed long prosperity. For a time Heribert overawed both nobles and people. But other feuds began. The new military captains trained by

^a Conrad, who had proceeded to the south of Italy, obtained the excommunication of the Archbishop of Milan from Pope Benedict XI. Heribert paid no more respect to the excommunication of the Pope than to the ban of the empire. Conrad died the year after, June 4, A.D. 1039.

^e Landulph is throughout the wondering panegyrist of Heribert.

^f Compare Verri, p. 133; Muratori, Dissert.; Arnulf, ii. 16.

Heribert in his wars had proved more intolerable tyrants than the old nobles, whom the people began to regret, and to call the guardians and protectors rather than the oppressors of the people.^g Yet we find the whole nobility soon united in a common cause. Lanzo, one of the nobles, espoused the popular faction. The valvassors and the populace met in bloody strife in every quarter of the city. Again the worsted nobles were forced to leave the city; again the country chieftains made common cause with them. Six fortresses were built to bar every access to the city; for three years Milan was in a state of siege.^h But the skill and courage of Lanzo baffled all assault. The city suffered greatly from famine. A small domain under the walls produced some corn and wine. On both sides the prisoners were treated with the utmost inhumanity. The part which Heribert took in this conflict is not clear. By some he is represented as having left the city with the expelled nobles. His panegyrist ascribes to him a stately neutrality.ⁱ Though connected with them by birth, he rebuked, with vain but earnest severity, the avarice and licentiousness of the nobles, yet would not commit himself to the popular cause.

Lanzo at length found his way to the Court of Henry, the son and successor of the Emperor Conrad. But Henry suspected the fickleness of the Italians; he dreaded the enmity of Heribert, so fatal to his father. He imposed the hard terms, that four thousand of his cavalry should be admitted within the city, and that Lanzo should be answerable for the fidelity of the

^g Landulph panegyrises the ancient "Duces." A.D. 1051 or 1052.

^h The beginning of this feud was ⁱ "Qualiter nec fuit cum populo, nec voluntati majorum juvit."—Landulph.

citizens. Lanzo was a man of inexhaustible resources. With patriotic treachery he revealed his own secret negotiations with the Emperor, and used these haughty demands as an argument to force the conflicting parties to peace. He urged on the nobles and the people that their quarrels would only yield them up to the remorseless tyranny of the barbarous Germans. The nobles re-entered the city; peace was restored.

Soon after this Heribert died. The Archbishop^l consoled his weeping attendants on his deathbed—"I am going to the feet of St. Ambrose." He received the Sacrament in the presence of the whole clergy of Milan; and this martial and secular prelate was, if not directly canonised by the admiration of his countrymen, yet admitted to equal veneration with the holiest and most world-despising saints. His miracles were soon recorded in the chronicles of the city. The worthy successor of St. Ambrose was reported to have averted famine from the land by his prayers. The pastoral staff of Ambrose, having been stolen by a sacrilegious robber for the sake of its precious metal, revealed itself to his successor.

Who was to fill the throne of the mighty and sainted Heribert? Among the names proposed was that of Anselm of Badagio, afterwards Bishop of Lucca, and Pope under the name of Alexander II.^k The choice fell upon Guido, a man of far inferior character and determination than his predecessor,^m whose warlike example he seemed at first disposed to follow; he headed the troops of Milan in a war with Pavia; he asserted at Rome the precedence of the Milanese see

^k The four candidates were presented to the Emperor Henry. Guido was not a noble.—Giulini, iii. p. 422.

^m "Vi volle tatta l' astuzia

Guidone, tutto il timore, che si aveva del re Enrico e molto denaro, per ottenere che fosse consecrato il nuovo arcivescovo."—Verri, p. 136.

against rival Ravenna. But Guido was unequal to the imminent crisis, more important to the Church and to Christianity than all the disputes between the nobles, valvassors, and people, when the clergy of Milan dared to assert their real or supposed privileges against all the power of Rome, against the reviving austerity of monasticism, and against the populace of Milan. It involved the great question of the marriage of the priesthood, of which the Milanese clergy were the avowed champions. It was a protest, or rather a direct rebellion against the vast scheme of ecclesiastical dominion already matured, at least in the mind of Hildebrand; and which could never have been accomplished but by a celibate clergy. Anselm of Badagio, an avowed monk, a monk of monks, as Archbishop of Milan, would have taken a decided part; Guido, by his vacillation, incurred the contempt of both parties, inflaming the feud by his unsettled policy, and betraying, from want of courage to support it, that cause to which no doubt he had a secret leaning.

The Church of Milan revered the memory of St. Ambrose almost as proudly as Rome that of St. Peter. Milan boasted the most numerous, best appointed, and best organised clergy. According to a proverb of the time, Milan was to be admired for its clergy, Pavia for its pleasures, Rome for its buildings, Ravenna for its churches.^a It had its peculiar service,

^a "Ecclesia enim Ambrosiana Domino annuente, sapientibus sacerdotibus, Levitis et Subdiaconibus, super ceteras abundabat ecclesias. Unde in proverbium dictum est, Mediolanum in clericis, Pavia in deliciis, Roma in ædificiis, Ravenna in ecclesiis."—Landulph, Sen. iii. p. 96. Damiani himself praises highly the clergy of Turin (allied with Milan) as in all other respects virtuous, learned. "They chanted like angels; they seemed a noble ecclesiastical senate." When he found them married, all their virtues disappeared.—*Opuscul* xviii.

the Ambrosian, which had been respected, and was undisturbed by Gregory the Great.

But the Church of Milan possessed likewise—or boasted that it possessed—an unbroken tradition from St. Ambrose himself. They cited boldly, publicly, and without any charge that they had falsified the text—the very words of St. Ambrose, authorising, if not the marriage of the clergy, the Greek usage, that priests married before their ordination should retain their wives.^o Heribert himself, the

Church of
Milan asserts
right of
marriage.

* This was the sentence: “De *monogamiâ* sacerdotum quid loquar? quum una tantum permittitur copula et non repetita, et hæc lex est non iterare conjugium.” This text now stands: “De *castimoniâ* autem quid loquar, quando una tantum nec repetita permittitur copula? Et in ipso ergo conjugio lex est non iterare conjugium.”—S. Ambros, Oper. edit. St. Maur. ii. 66, Paris, 1686. Another passage was triumphantly cited in a public speech (Rer. Ital. Script. iv. p. 109): “Virtutum autem magister apostolus est . . . qui unius uxoris virum præcipit esse, non quod *exórtem* excludat conjugii, nam hoc supra legem præcepti est, sed ut conjugali castimoniâ fruatur absolutionis sui gratiâ: *nulla enim culpa est conjugii, sed lex.* Ideo apostolus legem posuit dicens; si quis sine crimine est, unius uxoris vir, tenetur ad legem *sacerdotii supradicti* (am?) qui autem iteraverit conjugium, culpam quidem non habet coinquinati, sed prærogativâ exiit *sacerdotis.*” In the editions this now stands: “Ut conjugali castimoniâ *servet* absolutionis sui gratiam.” Instead of the words in italics, omitted: “Neque iterum ut filios in sacerdotio

creare apostolica invitetur auctoritate, habentem enim dixit filios non facientem, neque conjugium iterare.” Then: “Ideo apostolus legem posuit dicens, si quis sine crimine est unius uxoris vir, tenetur ad legem sacerdotii suscipiendi,” *et seqq.*

At the revival of letters there were great disputes about the falsification of the texts of the Fathers. See Koster's Preface to Edit. Basil. 1555; Francis Junius, Præfat. ad Indic. Expurgat.; Rivet, Critica Sacra, iii. 6; Daillé: on the other side, the Benedictine Editors and Puricelli, apud Muratori, R. It. Scrip.; and the Preface of Cardinal Montalto to the Roman edition. Sound and impartial criticism would, in my judgement, unquestionably maintain the older reading. Yet forgeries were clearly not all on one side. Galvaneo Fiamma quotes from an ancient chronicle of Dazio the account of a synod held at Constantinople (an apocryphal synod), in which Ambrose was present! in which one party asserted that married priests could not be saved. The supreme pontiff (Damasus I) submitted the question to S. Ambrose. He replied: “Perfectio vitæ non in castitate,

great Archbishop, was a married man; his wedlock had neither diminished his power nor barred his canonisation.^p In assertion of this privilege they dauntlessly defied all superior authority, and denied as to this, as to their other precious rights, all supremacy of the Pope. Nor was it a privilege of which they availed themselves sparingly. By the accounts of friends and foes, the practice of marriage was all but universal among the Lombard clergy. They were publicly, legally, married with ring and dowry,^q as were the laity of Milan; and this, which was elsewhere esteemed a vice, became in Milan, by their bold assertion of its lawfulness, a heresy.^r

sed in charitate consistit, secundum illud Apostoli, si lingua hominum loquor et angelorum, etc. Ideo lex concedit sacerdotes semel virginem uxorem ducere, sed conjugium non iterare. Si autem mortuam primam uxore sacerdos aliam duxerit, sacerdotium amittat." Peter Azerid wrote thus at the beginning of the fourteenth century: "Iis omnino benedicens B. Ambrosius, unam uxore uti posse concessit, quam defunctam, et ipsi vidui in æternum permaneant. Quæ consuetudo duravit annis septuaginta usque ad tempora Alexandri Papæ, quem civitas Mediolanensis genuerat." In the older editions of Corio (mine is Venezia, 1554) is a passage which was struck out in the later editions: "Concesse loro (S. Ambrogio) ch'è potessero havere moglie vergine, la quale morendo, restassero poi vedovi, si come chiaramente si legge nella prima di Timoteo."—p. 5, 6. Puricelli in Muratori, H. I. S. iv. 122.

^p "Hic Archiepiscopus habuit uxorem nobilem mulierem: quæ donavit dotem

suam monasterio Sancti Dionysii, quæ usque hodiè Uxeria dicitur."—Galvaneus Fiamma, *sub ann.* 1040.

^q "Cuncti enim cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis suam ignominiose ducebant vitam."—Vit. B. Arialdi, a B. Andrea, Bolland, xxvii. Jun. In the first sermon of Ariald, he says of the clergy: "Et ipsi, ut cernitis, sicut laici palam uxores ducunt." He adds: "Stuprum quemadmodum scelesti laici sequuntur."—Ibid. He speaks of their greater vigour as not labouring but living "ex dono Dei."

^r "Vitium quippe in hæresin vertitur, cum perversi dogmatis assertionem firmatur." See the furious invective of Damiani "contra clericos intemperantes," c. vii. "Nec vos terreat—(he is urging the pellices, as he calls them, to break off their connexions)—quod forte, non dicam fidei, sed perfidiæ vos annulus subarrhavit; quod rata et monimenta dotalia notarius quasi matrimonii jure conscripsit: quod juramentum ad confirmandam quodammodo conjugii copulam utrius-

Still there were many of the austerer clergy in Milan, as in other parts of Italy, who looked with what they esteemed righteous indignation at this licentious and sensual privilege. Three persons bound themselves in a holy league of enmity against the married clergy: of these Anselm of Badagio was one; the second, Ariald, a man of humble birth, and therefore more able to speak to the hearts of the rude populace; the third, Landulph, a noble, remarkable for his eloquence. Landulph and Ariald began to preach in Milan to the populace of the city, and to the peasantry, the unlawfulness and licentiousness of a married clergy.^a Each party strove to implicate the other with the name of an odious heresy; the monastics branded the assertors of clerical marriage with the old name proverbial for sensuality, Nicolaitans: the Lombard Clergy affected to treat their adversaries as Paterines or Manicheans. This was no unmeaning phrase. During the rule of Heribert, one of those strange sects, with many 'old Gnostic opinions, had appeared at Monteforte. A certain Gerard was at their head: their doctrines contained much of mystic Gnosticism. They identified the Saviour with the soul of man born into a corruptible state.^b The Holy Ghost was apparently the divine Intelligence (Nous) revealing itself to man. They were severe ascetics, condemned all union of the sexes, and said that if men would abstain from corruption, they would generate like bees, without conjunction. They denied the absolving power of the priesthood; that they ascribed to an unseen

que processit. Ignorantes quia pro uniuscujusque fugaci voluptate concubitus mille annorum negotiantur incendium."—Ibid. c. iii.

^a The Council of Pavia, under Benedict VIII. (A.C. 1021), with the

approbation of the emperor, Henry II., had passed an ordinance to enforce the celibacy of the clergy.

^b Rodulphus Glaber, iv. 2; Landulph, Sen.

influence which visited God's people. Their great tenet was, that it was right to die in torments, so to purify the soul; they rejoiced therefore in martyrdom: if not so nappy as to meet it before the approach of death, they were released by one of their own people. Heribert gratified their passion for martyrdom; he burned all, except a few, who shrunk from death, on an immense pyre in Milan.^u The married clergy taunted their opponents with the name and tenets of this hated sect; they even lodged a formal accusation against them before the archbishop. Guido attempted to silence both parties by gentle admonitions, but without effect; at length the conflict broke out.

During a great festival, for the translation of the reliques of the martyr Nazarius, a priest was maddened by the unmeasured invectives of Ariald against his married brethren. Ariald had driven the singers and all the clergy out of the choir of the church; he caused a paper to be written, which bound all the clergy under an oath to maintain their chastity; he endeavoured to compel all ecclesiastics to sign this paper.^x The priest broke out into a violent harangue, and struck Ariald. This was the signal for a general tumult; the adherents of Ariald rushed through the streets, the bells rang, the populace gathered from all quarters. The populace are usually on the side of those who make the most austere show of religion; they were jealous of the wealth of the clergy: many of them, like the plebeians of Rome, were burthened with heavy debts, severely exacted no doubt by the clergy.^y The higher ecclesiastics were

^u Landulph, apud Muratori.

^x Arnulf.

^y "Horum disseminatis verbis pester, subito multi quibus alienum

res purissime exigebatur, quosque foris et intus dura paupertas agebat," etc —Landulph, vi. 9.

mostly patrician in birth, and habits, and faction. Everywhere they were insulted, assaulted, beaten, their houses plundered; and they were forced by a summary process of divorce to abandon their wives.* The nobles were overawed and dared not interpose. Nor were the clergy of the city alone exposed to this popular persecution. The preachers roved through the country and stirred up the peasantry against the priests and their concubines,—they would give them no more respectful name.

Ariald and Landulph went to Rome, to obtain the sanction of the Pope, Stephen IX., for their
Dec. 9, 1057. proceedings. The Cardinal Dionysius, a Milanese by birth, attempted a cautious and timid opposition; he did not venture, except slightly and incidentally, to enter on the grave question of the marriage of the clergy; but remonstrated against the violence of their adversaries, the stirring up the rabble with clubs, and spears, and swords, against the holy anointed priesthood. A Legation was appointed by Pope Stephen, consisting of Ariald, Anselm of Lucca, and Hildebrand. This first mission had no effect in allaying the strife; the dissension was growing fast into a civil war.^a

Guido at length took courage, and assembling a synod
A.D. 1058. at Novara, or rather at Fontaneto, in the territory of Novara, asserted his full archiepiscopal authority,^b and excommunicated the turbulent Ariald, Landulph, and their partisans; they treated the excom-

* "Postea vero summo cum dedecore mulierum divortium sine lege, sine jure, sine Episcopo, non Deum, sed pecuniam illorum amantes, gladiis et fustibus feriebant."—*Ibid.*

^a This first legation is distinctly

asserted by Landulph; it is barely possible that it may be another version of the later one.

^b "Ut quodammodo Ecclesia Mediolanensis suis jussibus obtemperaret."

munication with contempt. Another Legation arrived, with the famous Peter Damiani, now compelled to be a cardinal, who, with Anselm of Lucca, was commissioned by the new Pope, Nicolas, to investigate the spiritual state of Milan. Peter Damiani was the austere monk in Italy, a monk who, compelled to be a bishop, had striven with all his might to throw off the worldly and unholy burthen. His horror at sexual indulgence was almost a madness.^c Yet the cardinal and his colleagues were received with all outward show of respect by the Archbishop and the clergy; but the pride of the Milanese of all ranks was in secret skilfully excited; would they permit the church of St. Ambrose to be enslaved by that of Rome? The popular indignation was further roused by the appearance of the Legate with Anselm of Lucca on his right hand, and the archbishop of Milan on his left. Milan assembled at the ringing of the bells in all the churches, and the summons of an enormous brazen trumpet, which shrieked through the streets. The fickle populace were now as furious in defence of the clergy, who seemed the champions of the liberties of the city, as they had been in their persecution. The cry was loud that the church of S. Ambrose would never submit to the Roman pontiff. The life of Damiani was in danger;^d but Damiani was

A.D. 1059.

^c "Interea et vos alloquor, o lepores clericorum, pulpamenta diaboli, projectio Paradisi, virus mentium, gladii animarum, aconita bibentium, toxica convivarum, materia peccandi, occasio pereundi. Vos, inquam, alloquor, gynecæa hostis antiqui, vos upupæ, ululæ, noctuæ, lupæ, sanguisugæ, affer, affer sine cessatione dicentes. Venite itaque audite me, scorta, prostibula, savia, volutabra porcorum pin-

guum, cubilia spirituum immundorum, nymphæ, sirenæ, lamia, *diana*, qu. ? . . . vos tigrides impiæ . . . vos harpyæ, vos sirenæ atque charybides . . . vos viperæ furiosæ,"—and so on for paragraphs. These are the terms in which he addresses the wives of the clergy. Damiani must be read to understand his sacred horror of priestly wedlock.

^d "Intentabant mihi, ut ita loquor,

not a man to quail before popular tumult; he mounted the pulpit; he asserted with firm and argumentative tone the supreme jurisdiction of Rome;^e he boldly appealed to their own archives to prove that Ambrose himself had applied to the Pope Siricius, and that the Pope had sent his legates, a priest, a deacon, and a subdeacon, to assist Ambrose in rooting out from his city that same Nicolaitan heresy, the marriage of the clergy, for which they now asserted the authority of Ambrose.^f Guido was grown older and more timid; the people saw him seated of his own accord on a stool at the feet of Damiani. The clergy, deserted by the bishops, deserted again by the populace, who were overawed by the eloquence and lofty bearing of the cardinal, had no resource but humble submission.^g The Archbishop, reluctantly it is said, took a solemn oath against simony, and against the marriage of priests. The clergy were compelled to subscribe the humiliating concession; every simoniac (and of simony every clergyman of Milan, from the Archbishop downwards, was accused) was to submit to a penance of five or seven years in proportion to his guilt; but there were those who felt the pride of Milan

omnem mentem, et, ut ab amicis meis sæpe suggestum est, nonnulli meum sanguinem sitiabant."—Damian. Op. v.

* Damiani (ad Card. Hildebrand) describes the sensitive pride of the Milanese as to the Church of St. Ambrose: "Factione clericorum repente in populo murmur exoritur non debere Ambrosianam ecclesiam Romanis legibus subicere, nullumque judicandi vel disponendi jus Romano pontifici in illâ sede competere. Nimis indignum, inquit, ut quæ sub progenitoribus nostris semper fuit libera ad nostræ confusionis opprobrium nunc

alteri, quod absit, ecclesiæ sit subiecta!"

^f Damiani probably believed this dauntless assertion. Siricius was certainly the first Pope who authoritatively condemned the marriage of the clergy; but imagine Ambrose needing or demanding aid from the Pope to exterminate this heresy in his own diocese!

^g Damiani's letter to Guido, humbly thanking him for the gift of two stoles, contrasts singularly with his demeanour and influence in the city.—*Epist.* iii. 7.

humbled, Damiani's assuming precedence over the archbishop goaded them to frenzy. "O senseless Milanese! (writes the indignant historian, who represents the feelings of this party) who has fascinated you? Yesterday you clamoured for the independent supremacy of your see, to-day you submit to this base subjection. If Rome is to be honoured for the apostle, Milan is not to be despised, who boasts her Ambrose."^h

At the great Council, however, at Rome (1059), which assigned the election of the popes to the cardinals, Guido sat, as archbishop of Milan, at the right hand of the Pope, a reward for his submission. He was attended by his suffragans, the Bishops of Brescia, Turin, Asti, Novara, Lodi, Vercelli. Ariald assailed Guido, as a favourer of simony and of concubinage; he was defended by his suffragans; the temper of Pope Nicolas allayed the strife. Guido perhaps hence was again supposed to espouse the cause of the married clergy; he rose, therefore, with them into high popularity. Though the Council denounced both simony and concubinage in severe statutes, the Lombard bishops dared not publish them in their cities. Adrian of Brescia alone ventured to do this: he hardly escaped being torn to pieces by the rabble. In Cremona and Piacenza the people split into two parties—those who adhered to, and those who refused communion with the married clergy.ⁱ

^h Arnulf. Compare Tristano Calchi, Hist. Patr. vi. 132.

ⁱ "Concilio igitur rite celebrato episcopi Longobardi domum remeantes, cum magnas *Levitis concubinariis et sacerdotibus accepissent pecunias* [Bonizo was on the other side] decreta Patrum celsaverunt præter unum scilicet Brixianum Episcopum qui

veniens Brixiam, cum decreta Papæ publice recitasset, a clericis verberatus pæne occisus est, quod factum non mediocre Pateriæ dedit incrementum. Nam non solum Brixie, sed et Cremonæ et Placentiæ et per omnes alias provincias multi concubinatorum abstinebant communione."—Bonizo p. 807.

Anselm of Badagio, Bishop of Lucca, the instigator of Landulph and of Ariald, was now summoned A.D. 1061. to a loftier station : on him had fallen the choice of the cardinals assembled at Rome. But the election of Alexander II. (such was his title) without the consent of the Emperor, was received as a bold invasion of the Imperial rights by the Transalpine prelates. The Lombard ecclesiastics, especially those who were for the marriage of the clergy, dreaded the elevation of Alexander, whom they hated with personal hatred, and foresaw no doubt the overweening influence of Hildebrand and of the high monastic party. They too would have an Italian Pope, but a Pope from their part of Italy.^k

Guibert was the Chanceller of the Empire, the administrator of the Imperial interests in Italy. By his advice a Council was assembled in Basle, composed of German and Lombard prelates. The Council annulled the election of Alexander, and chose Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, who took the name of Honorius II.^m The Roman people were represented at Basle by the Count of Galeria, and some of the other barons who had been put down by the Normans. The passions of the time can be best known by the language of the time. It would be unjust to estimate the character of Cadalous by the frantic words of Damiani ; but they show clearly the fanaticism of hatred with which his appointment was viewed by the adverse party. He is described as the preacher of the devil, the enemy of man's salvation, the

^k "Nec aliunde se habere l'apam, nisi ex Paradiso Italiz, talemque qui scivit compati infirmitatibus eorum."

—Bonizo, p. 80.

^m Compare throughout the *Disceptatio Synodalis* between the advocate of the Emperor and the Defender

of the Roman Church before the Council of Augsburg, remembering that it was the work of Peter Damiani. I had written Osbor after the authorities. The Germans, as I am informed by M. Ranke, know no such place : they read Augsburg. [1857.]

apostle of Antichrist, the gulph of lewdness, the filth of mankind, the sink of all vices, the abomination of heaven, food for hell fire." After these and many other equally opprobrious terms, it is nothing to accuse him of the most deplorable ignorance.* Unfortunately Damiani assumed the language of a prophet, and foretold that the impious usurper would not live a year from the period of his elevation!† At the election of Cadalous, writes another hostile historian, the Simoniacs rejoiced, the priests who had concubines exulted with loud joy.‡ His partisans declared that all the Catholic Bishops of Italy, Germany, and Burgundy, approved his elevation.†

The election of Alexander had taken place on the 1st of October, that of Honorius II. on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude (Oct. 28). Open war must decide the contest for the vicegerency of the Prince of Peace.

* "Cadalous videlicet perturbator ecclesiæ, eversor Apostolicæ disciplinæ, inimicus salutis humanæ . . . radix peccati, præco Diaboli, apostolus Antichristi; et quid plura dicam? sagitta producta de pharetrâ Satanæ, virga Assur, filius Belial, filius perditionis, qui adversatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur: vorago libidinis, naufragium castitatis, Christianitatis opprobrium, ignominia sacerdotum, genimen viperarum, fætor orbis, spurcitia sæculi, dedecus universitatis . . . serpens lubricus, coluber tortuosus, stercus hominum, latrina criminum, sentina vitiorum, abominatio cœli, projectio paradisi, pabulum Tartari, stipula ignis æterni."—Damiani, *Epist.* vii. 3. The whole epistle is to obtain the interposition of the youthful Emperor.

* Damiani, writing to the Arch-

bishop of Ravenna, who seems to have doubted which side to take, represents Cadalous as without character or learning: "Ita est homo stolidus et nullius ingenii ut credi possit nescisse per se talia machinari."—If he can explain a single verse, I will not say of a psalm, but of a homily, I will at once submit to him, and own him not merely the successor of the Apostle, but an Apostle.

† "Fumea vita volat, mors improvisa propinquat,
Imminet expleti præpes tibi terminus anni;
Non ego te fallo: cœpto morieris in anno."—*Epist.* l. 20.

‡ "Tunc symoniaci lætabantur, concubinati vero sacerdotes ingenti exultabant tripudio."—Bonizo, p. 807.

† "Collaudantibus Italiæ, Alemanniæ, Burgundiæ Catholicis Episcopis."—Benzo, c. iv.

It was a war of Germany and the antimonastic part of the clergy in Lombardy and other parts of Italy on one side, against the Hildebrandism of Rome and the monasticism of Christendom aided by the arms of the Normans. Winter alone suspended the hostile operations; the passes of the Alps were closed. With the spring, Cadalous descended upon Italy; he was received with joyful acclamations, as the champion of their cause, by the Lombard prelates. But while he advanced, an unarmed conflict was taking place in Rome. Neither Pope nor Antipope was the most prominent man of his party. On the side of Cadalous (the Chancellor Guibert stood more aloof) was Benzo, Bishop of Albi, a faithful adherent of the Empire, but a man of Italian subtlety, utterly unscrupulous, and of ready and popular eloquence, with that coarse saturnalian humour which pleases the Italian, especially the Roman ear.^a Benzo appeared, and was received in Rome as the ambassador of the Emperor. He was lodged in the Octavian palace. During a whole week he was permitted to address the people day after day. Those whom he could not persuade with his eloquence he bribed with money, for from the private wealth of Cadalous, which was large, and other sources, he was richly provided with means of working on the Roman nobles and people.^b In his harangues he treated Alexander with the bitterest con-

* The strange, barbarous rhapsody, the panegyric of Benzo on Henry IV., written partly in verse, in jingling Leonine rhyme, partly in what may hardly be called prose, as a contemporary document is of considerable value. It was written avowedly to obtain preferment; it is adulation therefore is even more worthless than that

of ordinary panegyrics. But Benzo's account of the affairs in which he was personally engaged is too characteristic not to contain much truth.

^b A large quantity of furs was among the presents: "Clitellarios honustos preciosarum pellium donia." — Benzo, ii. c. 1.

tempt, and openly strove to alienate the people from him; to Hildebrand he paid the homage of his most furious invective. Neither the Pope nor Hildebrand ventured to disturb this avowed emissary of Cadalous; he was also the representative of the Empire. At the end of the week a great meeting was held in the Hippodrome, and there Alexander determined to confront his adversary. He appeared on horseback, and was received with a doubtful murmur. Benzo rose, and in his character as ambassador, reproached him with ingratitude and rebellion against the Emperor, as having abandoned his See of Lucca and usurped that of Rome." "Thou hast obtained thy election to the popedom by the aid of Normans, robbers, and tyrants, and by notorious bribery. Hildebrand, that son of Simon Magus, was the chief agent in this detestable merchandise, for which ye have both incurred damnation before God and man." He accused Alexander of acts of cruelty and bloodshed, warned him to retire to Lucca, and after remaining there a month, to proceed to the court of the Emperor, there to undergo whatever penance might be imposed upon him. Alexander calmly answered, that he had received the Roman pontificate, but had not thereby broken his allegiance; that he would send his delegate to the court of Henry to declare his will. He then turned his horse and rode off, amid the hootings of the populace—"Away, leper! out, wretch! begone, hateful one!"*

* The translation of bishops was still of doubtful legality, at least in many minds.

* It is the boast of Benzo:—

"Bellum egi cum Prandello [Hildebrand]
atque cum Badaculo [Anselm]
Qui thesaurum sancti Petri ponebant in
sacculo.

Nos expulsi ex arce, potius primaculo"

He expects his reward:—

"Non est magnum tanto regi unum signum
facere,
Hoc est dicere Benzoni, veni foras La-
zare,
Reddita tibi mercede, sta sub meo latere."
Lib. iv

Benzo was a better partisan than poet.

(On his return to the Octavian palace, Benzo assembled what he dignifies by the name of the Senate of Rome. He repeats a strange, coarse speech of Nicolas, the master of the palace, heaping the grossest insults on Hildebrand, and asserting that the election of the Pope must not be abandoned to monks and Normans. Benzo acknowledges the utter instability of the Roman populace, but dwells on the effect of his own eloquence, his lavish promises of mountains of gold, and, if he be taken literally, the joys of Paradise.^y By these means, and by skilful management of the leaders, he had organised a most powerful party.

Hildebrand, on the other hand, if he came less boldly forward, was neither irresolute nor inactive during this perilous crisis. Hildebrand is acknowledged no less by the undisguised homage of his admirers than by the discerning hatred of his enemies, throughout the pontificate of Alexander, as something above the Pope. "You made him Pope," writes Damiani in one of his moments of bitterness, "he made you a god." He was commonly called the Lord of the Lord Pope.^z To him were attributed all the more vigorous and warlike measures of Alexander;^a he held together the Romans of their faction;^b and, according to his antagonist, lavished money with emulous prodig-

^y "Nunc pollicendo auri montes,
nunc paradisi mellifluos fontes."—
Benzo.

^z The two well-known epigrams:—

^a *Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro,
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit ille
Deum.*"

^b *Vivere vis Romæ? clara depromite voce,
Plus Domino Papæ, quam Domino pareo
Papæ.*"

^c "Magis solers vincere effuso mor-

talium sanguine, quam sacrorum
canonum gloriosissimo certamine."—
Benzo.

^b Hildebrand took counsel with Leo, a Jew by descent, with Cencius Frangipani, "*et cum brachiato Johanne.*" Of the two former we shall hear more. The rest of his partisans were *beggars, who lived on the alms of the Church.* —Benzo.

gality.^c He was the impersonation, as it were, of monk-hood.^d

The Antipope in the mean time advanced with a large force and an ample treasure towards Rome. At Sutri he was met by Benzo, the Imperial ambassador, who had discharged his office of shaking the allegiance of the Romans and forming a strong faction in the city. Honorius II. advanced towards Rome; the neighbouring barons hailed their deliverer from the Pope and his Norman satellites. An embassy arrived from the Byzantine Emperor, or rather from the few Greeks who held their ground in Southern Italy, proposing a confederacy against the Normans. The Normans partly, perhaps, pre-occupied, or setting too high a value on their services, were unusually, suspiciously slow in their movements. The forces of Alexander ventured into the open field, they were defeated and driven within the walls.^e Cadalous was not strong enough to force his way within the walls, but he crossed the Tiber to put himself in connexion with the barons on that side of the city. He fixed his camp at Tusculum, where he received the Greek embassy. He was joined by the Count of Tusculum, the grandson of the famous Alberic.

Godfrey of Lorraine, the Duke of Tuscany, had learned caution by his eventful life: it had degenerated into craft. He aspired, no doubt with ulterior views, to hold the balance of power in

Godfrey of
Lorraine.

^c Benzo says of his opponents that they put their trust not in the Lord, but "in multitudo divitiarum." Whence the wealth at the command of Hildebrand? from the monasteries? the Papal estates? the votive offerings of the faithful? the now religious Normans?

^d "Cotidie autem ceram domno electi disputabant seniores, quomodo possint *cuculati* *Demonis* allidere tergiversationes."—Benzo, xi.

^e There is a rapid but curious view of these affairs in the *Annales Romani*, —Pertz, v. 472.

Italy.^f Hitherto he had declared for neither Pope.^g He had not interrupted the march of Cadalous along his frontier; he had allowed the attack on Rome. He was suspected of too friendly intercourse with Cadalous. Godfrey now appeared with an overpowering force; but, instead of joining either party, he assumed the lofty tone, not of a mediator, but an arbiter. He proposed that the two Popes should retire, each to his episcopal city, and there await the decision of the contest by the Emperor and the proper authorities. The haughty prelates were obliged to submit. Cadalous, having been first compelled by gentle but irresistible violence to surrender all his treasures to Godfrey, withdrew to

A.D. 1062.

Parma. Alexander had no alternative but to receive the fair promises of friendship lavished upon him by the Tuscan, and in like manner retired to Lucca. The Church seemed to have surrendered herself by her unnatural quarrel to the superior secular power; Pope and Antipope waited their doom from the princes of the world.

A sudden revolution in Germany decided the contest for the Papacy. That revolution was accomplished by one of the powerful churchmen of the Rhine. It might seem only the daring effort of one bold man for ascendancy; but there are evident signs that if Hanno of Cologne was not supported by a widely organised conspiracy, which embraced the Hildebrandine party in Italy, he knew that he could reckon

^f He was early an object of jealousy at the Imperial Court: "Quo comperto imperator Henricus gravi scrupulo perurgeri cœpit, reputans ne forte per eum [Goffredum] animi Italorum, semper avidi novarum rerum, at a regno Teutonicorum deficerent,

solicitentur." — Lambert Hertzfeld, *sub ann.* 1052.

^g See Damiani's Letters on the view of that part of Godfrey's character; his suspicious interview with Cadalous.—vii. 10, &c.

on their perfect sympathy. A young widow was the person least suited to govern the ambitious and mutually hostile feudatories of the empire, the almost independent princes and prelates, all aspiring to rule, none disposed to obey. She had power enough to give offence, none to control the refractory. Every grant or favour made many enemies—that of the fief of Bavaria to Otho of Nordheim, a treacherous and ungrateful instead of an open foe. Whoever became the chief counsellor of the Empress was immediately an object of universal dislike. She now placed her full confidence in the Bishop of Augsburg; but so unscrupulous was the jealousy of the rivals for her favour, so slight the confidence in the sanctity of the sacerdotal character, that the bishop's influence was attributed by popular rumour, not discountenanced by the highest in the land, to criminal intercourse. Agnes was no doubt blameless; but the haughtiness of the bishop confirmed the opinion that he must possess more than lawful power over her mind.¹ It was murmured abroad, among the people as well as by these great prelates and princes, that the King, now twelve years old, was kept entirely under female control, and not instructed either in manly studies or chivalrous amusements. A plot for his deliverance, or rather a design to obtain possession of his person, was contrived and conducted with consummate skill by Hanno and Siegfried, the Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, by Otho of Bavaria, and the Count Ecbert. Hanno of Cologne undertook in person the abduction of the youthful Emperor from his mother's care. At

Hanno of
Cologne.

¹ On the death of this prelate Lambert says; “Obiit invisus regi, invisus tempore Imperatricis.” — Lambert episcopis omnibus, propter superbe administratam regni gubernationem Hertzfeld.

Whitsuntide after a joyous banquet on an island on the Rhine (that of Saint Suithbert),ⁱ Hanno invited the boy to embark in a gay and richly decorated barge, prepared for the occasion. No sooner was he on board than the rowers rose to their oars, and the barge went rapidly though against the stream. The affrighted boy, thinking that their design could be nothing but his death, threw himself headlong into the stream. He was rescued by Count Ecbert, who plunged in after him, at the peril of his life.^k The multitude followed along the shore, resenting with loud but vain cries this insult upon the majesty of the Empire. But Hanno pursued his course; he soothed the popular indignation by artful declarations that he acted only for the public good. The gentle Empress, if wounded in her motherly feelings, relieved from an oppressive burthen, contemplated immediate retirement into a convent, but was persuaded for a time to suspend her pious intention.^m

The policy of the Empire, as to the Papacy, veered suddenly round. Duke Godfrey could hardly but be cognisant of this conspiracy. Both he, and the whole Hildebrandine party hastened to take their advantage. The unworldly Damiani at this crisis cannot keep within his cloister. He plunges with as much zeal as Hildebrand himself, whose secular ambition at times so distresses the saint, into the political turmoil. He writes a letter to Hanno, hailing his success, and urging him to fulfil his design of discomfiting the scaly monster of Parma. His act is that of the good priest Jehoiada

ⁱ Near Neuss.

^k Bonizo, *Annalista Saxo*; Lambert, *rub ann.* 1162.

^m See the Letters of Damiani (vii. 6, 7, 8) urging her to contempt of imperial greatness.²

rescuing the pious youth of Joas from the influence of the wicked queen Athalia. But he has done nothing unless he tramples on the smouldering brand, the limb of the devil, the Antipope.ⁿ

A council was summoned at Augsburg. Damiani appeared as a legate, the representative of the monkish and Hildebrandine party. Instead of a grave deliberation, a singular composition by Damiani was read—a disputation between the advocate of the Empire and the defender of the Papacy. It was drawn up with much skill and some moderation. The defender of the Papacy does not openly contest the Imperial right to confirm the election of the Pope, though he suggests a long line of Popes who had ruled without such sanction. But during the infancy of the Emperor that right was in abeyance. The legate of the Roman cardinals had been refused a hearing at the Court; the clergy, therefore, were compelled to proceed to the election of Pope Alexander. In temporal affairs the mother of the Emperor might guide her son; but the Roman Church was the mother of the Emperor in a higher sense, and as his rightful guardian was to act for him in spiritual concerns. Gradually the Imperial advocate yields to the overpowering argument of the Papal defender; and the piece concludes with a fervent prayer that the Empire and the Papacy may henceforth be united in indissoluble alliance; that as the kingdom and the priesthood, founded by one Mediator, were blended together as in one holy sacrament, so by this mysterious union the

Council of
Augsburg.

Damiani.

ⁿ Epist. iii. 6. Damiani is seized with gold, with Jupiter descending into this letter with a classical fit. He compares Cadalous descending on the bed of the apostolic throne in a shower of gold, with Jupiter descending into the bosom of *Diana*!—if this be not an error of the transcriber.

King might be recognised in the Pontiff, the Pontiff in the Emperor, saving that incommunicable prerogative which belonged to the Pope alone; the King supreme in temporal Courts, the Pontiff with unlimited jurisdiction over the souls of men.

Damiani's triumph as an orator over an audience who needed no persuasion was complete. Alexander was declared the rightful Pontiff, with full powers; but Damiani's fame as a prophet was in some danger. The

election of the Antipope Cadalous had taken
Oct. 29, 1062.

place on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude in the last year. The council was held on the same festival in the present; but Cadalous, instead of having closed his impious life as Damiani had distinctly foretold, was in a state of dangerous activity. Damiani took refuge in the spiritual death inflicted by the excommunicatory decree of the Church at Augsburg.

Alexander II. had returned to Rome; the Pope recognised by the higher clergy of Rome, by the council of Augsburg, by the court of the youthful Emperor. But Cadalous did not abandon his pretensions. A large part of the Italian clergy still adhered to his cause; he was in correspondence with the Empress and her partisans in Germany; his wealth he devoted to increase his warlike resources; above all, the barons of his faction in and about Rome, hating a Pope allied with the Normans, occupied the tower of Cencius (the Castle of St. Angelo), and kept the city in constant dread and insecurity.

Hanno of Cologne could not retain the authority which he had acquired with such boldness, but exercised with too much pride. In vain had he heaped imperial grants on his more powerful episcopal brethren, the Archbishops of Saltzburg and Magdeburg, the Bishops

of Freisingen and Halberstadt.^o Gunther of Bamberg, for his loyal service, it was alleged, to the Empress, against whom he had been in open rebellion, received Forcheim, with thirty-six villages and townships, which Henry III. had alienated from the monastery. Those who thus obtained the spoils were discontented that they got no more; those who got nothing were only more exasperated against those who did, and against their misjudging patron. The young King could scarcely forgive the insult of his violent abduction, nor, if he had any natural affection (a doubtful point), his forcible separation from his mother. A deep repugnance against ecclesiastical tyranny may have taken root within his heart, hostile not only to the ambitious churchmen, who were encroaching more and more on the Imperial power, but to the wholesome restraints and holy influences of religion itself. But he could only hope to pass from the control of one hateful ecclesiastic to that of another better able and disposed to win his affections. Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, had every quality to rule a court, and the councils of a nation such as Germany then was. Of a commanding person (no one officiated in the Church with so much dignity and splendour), ready eloquence, great knowledge of business, he would not condescend to ask, scarcely to receive favours; while his lavish munificence gathered round him troops of admiring and ardent partisans. To these more worldly distinctions he added those peculiar to his profession, unblemished chastity, saintly piety. The church of Bremen, which he built, was of the noblest in Germany, and served with unrivalled magnificence; and he displayed that haughty humility which, while it

Adalbert of
Bremen.

• • Stenzel, *Frankische Kaiser*, i, 217.

constantly stooped to wash the feet of the poor, made him assert his equality with the proudest princes of the Empire. Adalbert became the guardian, the counsellor, almost the friend and favourite of the youthful Henry ; and in him the loyal subject of the Empire predominated over the punctilious churchman.^p

Encouraged by this new revolution in the Imperial court, and on the invitation of his allies the Roman nobles, the Antipope made a second unexpected descent upon Rome. His faction commanded the gates of the Leonine city. He entered that district with all his forces ; but in the other quarters of Rome the partisans of Alexander made a brave resistance. Cadalous was attacked in the rear by the Norman troops, hardly escaped being made a prisoner, and was hurried by Cencius and his Roman allies into the Castle of St. Angelo. In that impregnable fortress he maintained his position for two years. Rome had two Popes with their armed troops glaring defiance at each other from opposite quarters of the city. The spiritual thunders—each of course, and each in his synod, had hurled his direst excommunication at the other—were drowned in the louder din of arms.

The final possession of the Papacy still hung on the revolutions in the Imperial Court. For two years Adalbert of Bremen maintained his influence by his own stately respectfulness and courteous domination, and by the aid of Count Werner, the younger favourite and companion of Henry.^q The affairs of state, the

^p For Adalbert's earlier career, conversion of heathens, and ambitious views, see Giesebrecht, ii. p. 440, &c.

^q Bruno (de bello Saxonico) as a Saxon hated Henry. He is more full, not always decent, and by no means

trustworthy, in his history. He charges Adalbert of Bremen with more than unepiscopal connivance : " Stultum dixit esse si non in omnibus satisfaceret suæ desiderij adolescentia."—i. 3.

disposition of preferments, the Royal grants, were left to Adalbert; while the boy-Emperor and his friend were allowed to devote themselves too exclusively to the light and unimproving pursuits of youth, the chase and other idle amusements. Adalbert committed the unpardonable error—more than error, the crime—of not endeavouring to bring up the young Emperor in habits of business suited to his station, to teach him the great lesson of commanding men, of commanding himself. Adalbert's own great qualities were leavened by an ostentatious vanity. His magnificent profusion soon exhausted even his vast resources. He could not supply his wants but by encroaching on the possessions of the great and comparatively defenceless monasteries. Some of these indeed, as it were, provoked the spoiler. The secular clergy in Germany—if the hatred between the regulars and seculars had not attained the same height as in other parts of Latin Christendom, in England, and in Lombardy—could not but envy and covet the often ill-gotten and ill-spent estates of the wealthier conventual foundations. While the more rigid monastics denounced the vices of the clergy, and were the stern examples of piety and ascetic devotion, which put to shame the worldly, often warlike, lives of the prelates—not even the most pious declined the Court offerings and grants, which increased with the fame of their piety. The more worldly abbots, on the other hand, aspired in rank, in opulence, even in secular power, to an equality with the prince bishops. They, too, would be prince abbots. There were constant collisions. In a dispute for precedence between the Bishop of Hildesheim and the Abbot of Fulda in the church of Goslar, there was a wild battle between their armed followers; the King was present, and with difficulty extricated from

A.D. 1063.

the fray. The Bishop was furious.^r The Abbot was condemned as the cause of the tumult. The hatred of the seculars against the monks was hardly sated, though the Abbot bought his pardon by fines, which utterly ruined the abbey of Fulda, to the King, to his counsellors, to the Bishop. The feeling ran high against the Abbot. On his return to his convent he was encountered by an insurrection among his own monks, by whom he was hated for his tyranny. The younger and more violent broke from their cloister to lay their grievances before the King. But Henry's counsellors, Hanno of Cologne, Otho of Bavaria, would not encourage this monastic rebellion. The Abbot was restored by the soldiers of the King, and took his revenge on the contumacious monks. Some were publicly whipped, others condemned to fasting and imprisonment, some drafted off to other convents; but according to their birth and connexions was their punishment.^s

The great metropolitans, though in possession of their splendid sees, and now ruling absolutely in the King's councils, were not great enough for their ambition. They did not plunder the magnates or the bishops, but it was from fear, not from respect. They wielded the whole power of the Empire; they sold all promotions, ecclesiastical and secular: yet this was not

^r Lambert of Hertzfeld, *sub ann.* 1063. "Tum vero urgebat et ille Apostolicæ Sanctitatis et Mosaicæ mansuetudinis episcopus, qui tanti sanguinis manus suas Deo consecraverat, et violatæ ecclesiæ injurias truculentius atque immitius quam rex suas persequabatur . . . Abbatem, præter acerbitem rei, quæ acciderat odium quoque gravabat nominis mona-

chici, quod inveterata malitia hominis sæculi semper opprimere atque obfuscare conabatur." Lambert was a monk of Hertzfeld, not of Aschaffenburg.—Pertz.

^s "De singulis tamen non pro modo culpæ, sed pro natalitium suorum claritate vel obscuritate sumptum est supplicium."—Lampert.

enough; the defenceless abbots were at their mercy. Siegfried of Mentz was as rapacious as the Archbishops of Cologne and Bremen; for in this the common interests of Hanno and of Adalbert joined them in a common league. They condescended to throw part of the spoils to the King, and so bought his support. They asserted the King's power over the abbots and lands of the abbeys, and his right to grant them away, to be as full, as over his bailiffs and other administrators of the royal domains. The Archbishop of Bremen attempted to seize Laurisheim and New Corbey. Corbey was, however, rescued from his grasp. The Abbot of St. Lavers stood on the defensive. Archbishop Siegfried seized Seligenstadt. Hanno of Cologne, not content with a ninth part of the Imperial treasure, had for his share Cornelius-Munster and Malmedy. St. Remacle wrested his cloister from the rapacious prelate by wonders, in which his monks were singularly skilful.* The Bishop of Spire had two abbeys: the Archbishops of Magdeburg, Saltzburg, the Bishops of Halberstadt, Freisingen, Minden, Bamberg, whole villages, with large privileges. Nor were the nobles without their portion. Otho of Bavaria had the abbey of Kempten; the Duke of Saxony the castle of Retzburg; Werner, the King's favourite, estates of Charlemagne's favoured Abbey of Hertzfeld. Werner added insult to spoliation. The monks of Hertzfeld took to prayer and fasting against him. "See," said Werner, scoffingly, to the King, "I have roused these

* See the *Triumphus S. Remacii*, in which the monks of Etable contested the possession of Malmedy with Hanno, and by playing off the popular superstition, which the Bishop and the King saw through but could not resist, maintained possession of their property. —Apud Chapeauville, *Gesta Pontificum Leodensium*, ii. 517 *et seqq.* Flote (Heinrich der Vierte), i. p. 286 *et seqq.* gives this at great length.

monks to most unwonted devotion; they have taken to fasting and prayer."—And men wondered that the young King was not imbued with awe and reverence for the Church!

In the depression of the monasteries and the invasion of their possessions the rival prelates, Hanno of Cologne and Adalbert of Bremen, might agree: no one repudiated his share of the plunder.ⁿ But the strife between these two men was a kind of prelude to the great conflict between the Empire and the Church. Hanno sought to strengthen his power by establishing his friends and kindred in the great bishoprics. Adalbert aspired to be surrounded by a vassalage of temporal nobles. The minority of Henry was one long strife of ambition and violence, in which the Churchmen ever took the lead, strangely crossed with acts of the most profound and self-denying devotion. At the time when a powerful confederacy was secretly forming against the overweening power of Adalbert of Bremen, many of the greatest prelates in Germany were seized with a sudden passion of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Siegfried of Mentz broke off his career of plunder. Gunther of Bamberg, Otho of Ratisbon, William of Utrecht, with many other distinguished ecclesiastics of France as well as Germany, set out in the autumn of 1064 for the Holy Land. Their imprudent display of wealth excited the astonishment and, of course, the cupidity of the wild Mohammedans, through whose territories they passed. In one affray with these rude enemies, they escaped massacre only by the personal courage and strength of the Bishop of Bamberg; and they were so fortunate as to buy the

ⁿ So writes Lambert, one of the sufferers. Compare Stenzel, *Die Frankische Kaiser*, i. 221. Stenzel in his *Beilage* gives a long and full list of lands seized by the great Prelates.

protection of a more powerful chieftain, who kept his word with true Eastern fidelity. They returned to Germany, Gunther of Bamberg to die, Siegfried of Mentz to plunge again into the world; he would compensate to himself for the hardships of his pilgrimage by bolder gratification of his ambition and rapacity.

Adalbert of Bremen had ruled too absolutely, too ostentatiously, in the court of the young King. His virtues were not less dangerous than his faults. His transcendant abilities awoke jealousy, his magnificence compelled him to more insatiate rapacity. He had more than his share in the plunder of the Empire.

The prelates and the secular princes combined for his overthrow—Hanno of Cologne, Siegfried of Mentz, Rudolph of Swabia, Otho of Bavaria, and the counts of Saxony—who hated Adalbert, and longed to plunder his wealthy bishopric, which in the north of Germany overshadowed their power and riches. They obtained the support of Godfrey of Tuscany, now in Germany. At a great diet at Tribur they boldly laid before the young King the alternative—the abandonment of his archiepiscopal minister, or the loss of his crown. Henry had been already cowed by the death of his favourite Count Werner in a fray at Ingelheim. He attempted to fly to Goslar with the insignia of the Empire. His palace was surrounded. Adalbert of Bremen was in danger of his life, and with difficulty, under a strong guard, he reached his bishopric. But the fallen man must fall still further. Duke Ordulf of Saxony, his son Magnus and his brother Herman, broke into the territories of the See. They threatened death to the archbishop; he sought concealment in a distant estate. At length he was compelled to make terms, by which he granted one-third of his vast estates as a fief of the

archiepiscopato to Magnus of Saxony ; other estates to other secular princes.

The magnificent prelate who aspired to be the Patriarch of the north of Germany had to endure poverty. Alms ceased to be distributed in the splendid church of Bremen. So the administration of affairs returned to the bishops.*

The fall of Adalbert crushed the lingering hopes of the Antipope Cadalous. Latterly he had been a prisoner rather than the master in the castle of St. Angelo ; and Cencius only on hard terms permitted this useful ally or rallying-point to his own faction, that of the old Roman nobles, to escape. Cadalous was obliged to pay 300 pounds of silver for the privilege of making a hasty and ignominious flight to the north of Italy.^y

Hanno of Cologne, now all powerful at the Court of King Henry, had espoused the cause of Alexander II. : he was desirous, as a Churchman, to put an end to this perilous and disgraceful schism ; but he had too much of German pride to abandon altogether the imperial claims. With his confederates, the German princes and prelates, he summoned, in the name of the Emperor, a Council to meet at Mantua to decide the great cause. Himself, with a large retinue of German princes and three hundred knights, proceeded to Rome. A discussion was held with Hanno of Cologne on one side, Hildebrand on the other ; Hanno asserting

May, 1067.*

* "Sic iterum rerum publicarum administratio ad episcopos rediit."—Lambert. The temporal nobles were not too faithful to Adalbert.

^y "Consenso strigosissimo equo inde solus aufugit."—Bonizo.

* See on the Council of Mantua

(the proceedings are lost), Stenzel, Beilage, the inferences of Giesebrecht, the conjectures of Gfrörer. I am now convinced that the date must be brought down to 1067. I had followed Lambert, Baronius, and the older writers.

the right of the King, the Patrician of Rome, to confirm the Papal election; Hildebrand, the indefeasible liberties of the Church.

Alexander, or Alexander's counsellors, thought it more wise to confirm his title by the authority of a council. He condescended to appear, not doubtful of the event, at Mantua.

The Council of Mantua declared Alexander the legitimate Pope; but hardly was this done, when the city was disturbed by a sudden irruption of the soldiers of Cadalous, swarming through the streets and heaping scorn on Alexander. Cadalous had raised these troops in his neighbouring diocese of Parma: but Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, the patron of Alexander, had guaranteed the security of the Pope. He drove the Parmesans in ignominious flight from the town.^a The Lombard prelates threw themselves at the feet of Alexander and implored his forgiveness. This forgiveness is said to have been extended to Cadalous himself, who nevertheless, though his friends fell off, never renounced the title of Pope. He died at last, almost forgotten by the world, except by the hatred of his enemies, which pursued him beyond the grave.^b But either lest the German or imperial interest should be too much depressed, or as the price of his abandonment of the Antipope, the author of the schism, Guibert the Chancellor, was rewarded with the Archbishopric of Ravenna.

During the whole pontificate of Alexander II. the strife

^a Lambert expresses the feelings of religious men on these scenes: "Homines, non ut quondam ut præsent ecclesiæ Dei injectâ manu trahebantur, sed ne non præsent armata manu præliabantur, funderantque mutuo sanguinem non pro ovibus Christi, sed ne non dominarentur ovibus Christi. *Anselmus tamen, qui et Alexander, et virtute militum et favore principum sedem obtinuit.*"—*Sub ann. 1064.*

^b "Eodem tempore Cadalous Parmensis Episcopus corpore et animo defunctus est."—*Donizo, p. 810.*

in Lombardy and in other parts of Northern Italy had continued with but remitting obstinacy. Alexander in his first address, as a Milanese, to the clergy and people of Italy, had declared the enforced celibacy of the priesthood the great object of his pontifical ambition.^c Damiani did not hold his peace: he bitterly complained that the Simoniac and Nicolaitan heresies, which he thought he had suppressed, had broken out again. He addressed, or more actively promulgated, an invective against the married clergy, even more furious than before. Phineas is his favourite example of zeal, Eli of criminal indulgence in the fathers of the Church as abstaining from using the sword of vengeance.^d Damiani, Pope Alexander, fulminated not in vain.

Landulph, one of the sworn triumvirate of Milan, had died; ^{A.D. 1065.} but a more implacable adversary of the married clergy rose up in his place—his brother Herlembald,^e of a stern, warlike character. An event in

^c "Speramus autem in eo qui de virgine dignatur est nasci, quia nostri ministerii tempore sancta clericorum castitas exaltabitur, et incontinentium uxuria cum cæteris hæresibus confundetur."—Epist. Alex. II. ad clerum populumque Mediolanensem.

^d See two letters to Ariald, v. 14, 15. Damiani's Commentary on the Old Testament is rather bold. He confounds Phineas with Elijah! Phineas was rewarded for his act of zeal with a life of 620 years. Eli's guilt is aggravated, for he was a *metropolitan*, Hophni and Phineas only *bishops*. The coarse indecency of this model of monkhood might provoke laughter, if laughter were not sobered

by disgust: "Sanctis eorum femoribus volui seras apponere; tentavi genitalibus sacerdotum, ut ita loquar, continentiae fibulas adhibere."—De Cœleb. Sacerd. Opusc. If the evil were concealed, it might, perhaps, be tolerated; but it is public, notorious; names, places are bruited abroad: "Nomina concubinarum, socerorum quoque et socruum, fratrum denique et quorumlibet propinquorum." If lavish gifts, jests, secret meetings, betray them not; "omnis dubietas tollitur," there are "uteri timentes et pueri vagientes."

^e Herlembald's person and character are described at length.—Landulph, iii. 13.

Herlembald's early life had embittered his heart against the less rigid clergy. His plighted bride had behaved lightly with a priest: Herlembald indignantly broke off his marriage. He then made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was just returned, with his whole soul full of religious enthusiasm. He soon ruled in Milan, by espousing the faction of the people against the nobles;^f and with their aid proceeded to assail the married priests. It was a spiritual tyranny exercised by a layman, though in conjunction with his brother-colleague Ariald, and maintained by armed partisans. Obnoxious priests were dragged from the altar, and consigned to shame and insult.^g The services of the Church, the most holy sacraments, were suspended altogether, or administered only by the permission of Herlembald. It is said that, in order to keep his rude soldiery in pay, he made every one in holy orders take a solemn oath that he had never known woman since the day of his ordination. For those who refused the oath, their whole property was confiscated. The lowest rabble, infected with Paterinism, poor artisans and ass-drivers, furtively placed female ornaments in the chambers of priests, and then, attacking their houses, dragged them out and plundered their property. Herlembald assumed the title of standard-bearer of the Church. Pope Alexander, at the instigation of Hildebrand, bestowed upon him a consecrated banner.^h Sometimes these ecclesiastical tribunes condescended to argument and expostulation; but their usual reasoning was force. Herlembald assumed a power far above that of the archbishop. His followers contested, indeed, the title and authority of the archbishop, no

^f See note quoted from Petrus Arragonensis by Puricelli, ad Vit. Arialdi, apud Billand; June 27.

^g Landulph, iii. 20.

^h Vit. Arialdi.

doubt as guilty of simony, of which they had constituted themselves judges as well as avengers.ⁱ

Guido at length, after nearly nine years of silent strife, determined on an attempt to throw off the yoke. The churches of Milan were for the most part without ministers. The married clergy had been expelled, and there were none to take their place.^k A synod at

ⁱ "Guido qui dicebatur archiepiscopus." And Ariald in his hour of martyrdom will not own Guido for archbishop.—Vit. Ariald.

^k Among the most curious parts of Landulph's history, and among the most singular documents of his age, is his account of a conference held in the presence of Herlembald on the marriage of the clergy. The speeches on both sides are given at length. The debate is opened by Guibert, the archdeacon, who boldly broaches the doctrine that all Christians, laity as well as clergy, are priests: "Forsitan cogitatis, quod de Laicis tantum dicat, de quibus non est dubium habere conjugem. Omnes tamen, Laici et Clerici, *quicumque sunt filii ecclesiæ, sacerdotes sunt.*" Landulph, perhaps, has not done justice to the arguments of Ariald; more than justice to his opponents. The most remarkable speech of all, however, is that of Andrew, "*Sacerdos Decumanus.*" He dwelt most vividly on the gross immoralities which as he believed—and he appealed to general experience—invariably followed the interdiction of marriage to the clergy: "Et si mihi de naturâ humanâ non credis, maximè non credis de ordine nostro, qui dum magis constringitur, amplius illicitis accenditur; vel tibi, quod olim fuisti, vel eras, [vel] esse poteris, crede.

Vetando unam et propriam uxorem centum fornicatrices ac adulteria mille concedis: præterea vitium detestabile (ob quod quidam ex tuis simulantes sese caste vivere uxoribus falsâ religione dimissis, vitio imbuti detestabili, in theatro populi tracti, et in fronte decocti sunt), te amicè tangendo deterreat." He indignantly inveighs against the violence of the celibate faction: "Thou hast separated us from our wives, thou that art more righteous than the Apostles; holier than the Prophets; purer than the Patriarchs; not by justice, not by charity, but by spears and swords, and every kind of persecution." He accuses them of holding the ascetic doctrines of "those of Monteforte," who proscribed all connexion between the sexes. He repels the argument that a priest cannot offer at the altar, if polluted by contact with a wife. The priest who has a wife cannot serve God faithfully, if he loves his wife more than God: that is all. Yet Andrew does not pretend to excuse a priest who marries after he is in orders: he must suffer the penalty of that breach of discipline; but he protests against dissolving, even in the case of such priest, the indissoluble union.—Landulph, iii. c. 25. Compare with this Damiani's dispute with the chaplain of Duke Godfrey, Epist. v. 13.

Novara (1065) summoned Herlembald and Ariald to render an account of their proceedings. Their answer was silent contempt. At length the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Ariald and Herlembald as refractory. But the inflexible Ariald appealed to Rome. He sent letters to inquire what course was to be pursued with this bishop, whom he loaded with the appellations of simoniac and adulterer. Damiani again blew a fierce blast from his monastic trumpet, and urged on these indefatigable warriors to extirpate this Nicolaitan heresy, as Jesus, from whose mouth goes forth the two-edged sword, will hew down all his enemies, and pour their blood on the earth.^m

But Ariald presumed beyond his strength. He had returned from Rome armed with full powers, with the ban of the Church pronounced against Guido, which had been extorted from the reluctant Pope by the more intrepid Hildebrand. The people of Milan had borne his tyrannous sway; they had aided him in his persecution of the married clergy, and of those accused of simony. But now the manifest object of Ariald and of Herlembald was the total subjugation of Milan to Rome, the abrogation of all her peculiar rights and privileges. When, therefore, Ariald began to interfere with the ritual, received by constant tradition from St. Ambrose himself—to command a fast on certain days on which St. Ambrose had appointed no fast—to preach against, to treat as heathen a fast and procession on Ascension Day, instituted by St. Ambrose—he fell at once from the commanding height of his popularity.ⁿ The factions of the different litanies met in conflict on more equal terms. The Archbishop himself, whose life had been in

^m *Epist.* v. 14.

ⁿ *Tristan Calchi*, vi. 133.

danger during the strife, headed the insurrection. The whole of Milan was summoned to meet in the great church at Pentecost. Guido appealed to the people:—"Let all who love S. Ambrose leave the church." Of seven thousand persons, but twelve remained with Ariald and with Herlembald. They stood near the altar to protect or to be protected by it. The partisans of Guido rushed to the attack; the clergy selected Ariald, the laity Herlembald, for their victim. Ariald was dragged from the church sorely wounded; Herlembald escaped better. At night his followers rallied, and rescued them both from their enemies. Six men, probably of note, were killed. The palace of the archbishop was stormed and pillaged. They then attacked the church. The aged Guido hardly escaped, sorely maltreated in the tumult. But the nobles, the more distinguished of the citizens, the vassals of the Church, would endure this tyranny no longer. Guido of Landriano placed himself at their head; the city was laid under interdict; no service was to be performed, no bell sounded, till Ariald should be driven from the city. So great was the fury of Milan against Ariald, that he fled to Legnano. He fell into the hands of Oliva, the niece of Archbishop Guido. She carried him to an island on the Lago Maggiore. There she demanded whether he would acknowledge Guido for archbishop (he had been excommunicated by Rome). "As long as my tongue can speak," he replied, "I will not acknowledge him." The servants of Oliva, after a more shameful mutilation, tore out his tongue, and left him half-dead. Landulph, his former colleague, had suffered before his death from a disease in the tongue; and thus, says the hostile historian, "God punished these men by the member which was the cause of all their wicked-

June 28,
1066.

ness." Ariald soon found and still holds his place as a martyr in the annals of the church.*

The strife was not allayed by the death of Ariald, nor by the appearance of two Papal legates, the Cardinal Bishop of Sylva Candida, and the cardinal priest John Minuto. They passed strong constitutions against simony and the married clergy.^b Herlembald, who had fled to Pavia, returned, regained his A.D. 1088-9. power, and, openly supported by the Pope's authority, reorganised his tyranny. Guido, as he advanced in years, became more consciously incapable of rule. He had been archbishop twenty-seven years, the last ten of civil war. He determined to vacate the see: he burdened it with a fixed pension to himself, and then made it over to a certain Godfrey. To him he resigned the pastoral staff, and the ring of investiture bestowed by the Emperor. Godfrey crossed the Alps, and promised the King, if he would grant the investiture, to destroy Pateria (so the adversaries of the monastic party opprobriously named them), take Herlembald alive, and send him prisoner into Germany. The Emperor, won, or bribed, as it is said, ratified the appointment.^c

But Herlembald, who now conducted himself not merely as secular tyrant, but as a Pope, in Milan, refused to acknowledge Godfrey, expelled him from the city, and besieged him in Castiglione. Guido, not receiving his stipulated pension, annulled his resignation, and resumed his state as archbishop. But he unwisely

* The least credible part of Landulph, the historian's, story is the public confession of his errors, which he ascribes to Ariald, who humbly owns himself guilty of the blood of his fellow-citizens, as the cause, of

countless fornications, adulteries, and even worse crimes, among the clergy.

^b "Constitutiones, quas S. Legati Mediolanensibus observandas præscribunt."—Mansi, xix.

^c Benzo.

trusted himself to the faith of Herlembald; he was seized, and shut up in a monastery till his death.^r

Before the death of Guido, Herlembald had set up a certain Atto,^s nominated by himself with the legate of Rome by his side, and without regard to the Church of Milan or their liege lord the Emperor. Atto was but a youth, just entered into holy orders. The people were furious, rose and attacked the archbishop's palace, tore him from his refuge in an upper chamber, dragged him by the legs and arms into the church, and there compelled him to renounce his dignity. The Roman legate hardly escaped with his robes torn.

During this strife Milan had suffered two dreadful fires, which burned down some of the finest
A.D. 1071-75. churches, as well as a large part of the city. These calamities goaded the factions to more relentless cruelty: as each party would attribute them to the direct wrath of God, so each would receive them as the summons to wreak vengeance on their adversaries, thus designated the foes of God as of themselves. Herlembald, now strong in the armed protection of the great Hildebrand^t (we have reached his pontificate), maintained his power; yet so vigorous and inflexible was the party called that of the married clergy, that it prolonged the contest on the whole during twenty years,^u and obtained at last a temporary triumph in the death of Herlembald.^x

^r Giulini, iv. 140; Verri, p. 173.

^s Atto was sanctioned as archbishop by the Pope in 1072.

^t Landulph (the historian) says of Herlembald: "Solum Romani illius Hildebrandi auscultabat consultum."

^u "Crescebat quotidie numerus infidelium, et de die in diem numerus

minuebatur Paterinorum."—Bonizo, p. 813.

^x The enemies of Herlembald were the Capitanei and Valvassores (these Hullman interprets *bas vassaux*), the simple populace: "Dicentes se integritatem beati Ambrosii velle juvare."

This man at length fell in an insurrection: the standard of St. Peter was trampled in the dust. Liutprand, a priest of his faction, was mutilated, his ears and his nose cut off. His enemies would scarcely allow Herlembald decent burial. A solemn procession passed to the Ambrosian Church, with hymns of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the Church of Milan from her oppressor.⁷ Yet he, too, is placed as a martyr in the calendar of Christian saints.⁸ The canonisation of these two religious demagogues, who, whatever may be thought of their spiritual objects, governed by popular insurrections and plunder, by carnage—which did not respect the most sacred persons—by exaction, and by every kind of persecution, closes this melancholy chapter in church history.

It was not in Milan alone that the war raged against the married clergy; nor wholly in the Milanese that the married clergy were strong enough 1075-6. to maintain a long and obstinate resistance to the Hildebrandine yoke.⁹ In Monza, in Cremona, in Piacenza, in Pavia, in Padua, in Asti, fierce feuds, as fierce as the later conflicts of Guelfs and Ghibellines, disturbed the streets, not without bloodshed. Alexander II. addressed a hortatory letter to the Cremonese; it rung like a tocsin through the city. The people rose upon the married clergy.^b

⁷ Arnulf.

⁸ In his epitaph it is said: "Hunc Veneris servi perimunt, Simonisque magistri."

⁹ Verri in his *Storia Milanese* adduces strong reasons for supposing that the married priests continued to exercise their functions, however with

greater caution, in the Milanese. A synod, held in 1098, condemns the abuse of the clergy handing down their benefices to their children by a kind of hereditary succession.

^b See authorities in Theiner, p. 33 Benzo, p. 808, 9.

But in Florence the secular clergy, headed by Peter, the Bishop of Florence, opposed a long but vain resistance to the monks, those especially of Vallombrosa, with their abbot, hereafter sainted, John Gualberto. The legend of this holy man is among the most striking in hagiology. He was of noble Florentine birth; his brother had been murdered. The honour of his house, paternal love, the solemn imprecation of his father imposed upon Gualberto the sacred duty of avenging his brother's blood. He brooded in fixed and sullen determination over this settled purpose. One day (it was Good Friday) he met his destined victim, the murderer, in a narrow pass: he drew his sword to plunge it to the heart of the guilty man. The assassin attempted no defence, but threw himself from his horse, and folded his arms over his breast in the form of a cross. Gualberto held his arm—he forgave for the sake of that holy sign. He rode on to pay his devotions in the Church of San Miniato; the crucifix seemed to bow towards him, as if in approval of his holy deed. From that moment Gualberto was a monk in heart as in life. He found a hermitage under the dark pines of Vallombrosa, on the banks of the Acqua Bella. The hermitage grew into a monastery; and of all cloisters none was so rigid as that of Vallombrosa; later times had seen no monk so austere, so self-mortified, as John Gualberto. Peter, Bishop of Florence, was accused as a Simoniac; the protection of Peter Damiani, who at first endeavoured to repress the intemperate zeal of the monks, may seem to absolve the prelate from this charge. But the secular clergy of Florence were deeply tainted it is said by this vice; they lived separate, there were no colleges of canons—an unmarried clergyman

was rare—they were intent on their worldly interest, the heritage of their children, or provision for their families.*

The strife lasted for many years. Gualberto denounced Peter, the simoniac Bishop, in the streets of Florence; the monks of Vallombrosa renounced all allegiance to their sullied prelate. Appeals to Rome were in vain; the Pope Alexander inclined to milder and more conciliatory measures; Hildebrand hailed the kindred spirit of his friend, the abbot Gualberto, and maintained with his more than Papal authority the cause of the monks.

But the monks had determined on, they had repeatedly urged, an appeal to a higher authority even than Rome, to God himself. They demanded the ordeal of fire. There was a fierce commotion in Florence. Many of the clergy had been awed by the denunciations of Gualberto and the monks; they fell off from the bishop, they declared that they could not obey a simoniac prelate. The civil authorities were summoned to drive the refractory priests from their residences. The populace arose, ever on the sterner, as they thought the more religious, side; women ran about rending their veils, beating their breasts, and shrieking wildly. There was a loud cry: "Christ, thou

* "Quæ enim lingua etiamsi ferrea
ipsius cuncta posset referre bona?
Quæ clericorum congregatio vitam erat
ducens communem? Quis clericorum
propriis et paternis rebus solummodo
non studebat? Qui potius inveniretur,
proh dolor! qui non esset uxoratus
vel concubinarius? De simonia quid
dicam? Omnes pene ecclesiasticos

ordines hæc mortifera bellua devora-
verat, ut, qui ejus morsum evaserit,
rarus inveniretur."—Andreas Strum.
in Vita S. Gualberti, apud Bolland,
July 12. Atto says: "Exemplo vero
ipsius et admonitionibus delicati cleri
spretis connubiis ceperunt simul in
Ecclesiis stare, et communem ducere
vitam."

art driven out! Simon Magus will endure thee no longer!"

A great rout, at least 5000, with monks at their head, marched forth to Settimo, a monastery dependent on Vallombrosa, a few miles from Florence. At Settimo had been prepared two lofty scaffolds; between them a narrow path, heaped with dry wood. The scaffolds were crowded with spectators, who gazed in transports of weeping devotion on the celebration of the mass below, by a popular monk, named Peter,^d appointed as the champion of his cause by Gualberto. As the *Agnus Dei* was sung, four priests advanced, one bearing the cross, one with holy water, one with the swinging censer, one with two lighted torches. There was a wild intonation throughout all the people of the *Kyrie Eliéson*—prayers to Christ, to the Virgin, to St. Peter—then all was silence. The mass was over; Peter, the monk, advanced in slow procession, amid the chanting of the Litanies and of the Psalms—he bore the cross. An abbot uttered a solemn prayer that this ordeal might root out the simony which reigned throughout the world. Peter knelt and prayed with deep fervour: "If Peter, Bishop of Florence, be a simoniac, may I pass unscathed through the flames." "Amen!" answered the awe-struck crowd. He gave and received the kiss of peace from his brethren. He waved the cross over the burning wood; walked slowly through the hissing flames, over the glowing embers. He passed unhurt; it was said that even the hairs on

^d The monk who passed the ordeal was called afterwards *Petrus Igneus*. He became Bishop of Albano. Berthold apud Petz, with note of Usse-
man, p. 273; the whole account chiefly from Berthold, in 1071, p. 109.

his feet were unsinged. All rushed around him, pressed his feet, the folds of his garments. There was one shout of triumph, demanding the degradation of the bishop. Peter, a man of gentle character, yielded to the storm he withdrew from Florence, but he retained his bishopric till his death.*

The death of Alexander II. (after a pontificate of nearly twelve years, including the contest Oct. 1, 1061; April 21, 1073. with Cadalous) was neither sudden nor unexpected; the election of his successor could not but be a subject of intense public anxiety. In Anselm of Lucca the Pontificate had been restored to Italy: would Rome any longer endure the bitter ignominy, that no one of her clergy, according to the precedence assigned to them by the decree of Pope Nicolas and the Lateran Council, was fit to be elevated to the shrine of St. Peter? Hildebrand had already for more than two pontificates been virtually Pope; the popular voice had described him as Lord of the Pope; would he still condescend to a subordinate station, and out of humility, policy, timidity, decline the ostensible supremacy? An unusual fast of three days might indicate that some measure of more than ordinary solemnity was in contemplation.

The clergy were assembled in the Lateran church to celebrate the obsequies of Alexander; Hildebrand, as Archdeacon, was performing the mournful service. At once from the whole multitude of clergy and people arose a simultaneous cry, "Hildebrand is Pope!" "St. Peter chooses the Archdeacon Hildebrand!" The

* Theiner adduces evidence that he was recognised by the Pope some time after his supposed degradation. The Mantuan biographer of S. Gualberto will not permit his triumph to be incomplete. The inscription bears:—
"Ast ille ejectus Petrus fuit illico ab eum Sede sua sacra Pontificisque loco."

Archdeacon rushed towards the pulpit to allay the tumult, and either with real or assumed modesty to repel the proffered honour; but Hugo the White, a cardinal presbyter of weight and influence, yet under the accusation of simony and excommunicated by the late Pope, eager perhaps to retrieve his endangered position, at once came forward and made himself heard above the acclamations of the multitude. "Well know ye," he said, "beloved brethren, that since the days of the blessed Leo this tried and prudent Archdeacon has exalted the Roman See, and delivered this city from many perils. Wherefore, since we cannot find any one better qualified for the government of the Church or the protection of the city, we, the bishops and cardinals, with one voice elect him as the pastor and bishop of your souls." The voice of Hugo was drowned in universal cries, "It is the will of St. Peter; Hildebrand is Pope." Hildebrand was led to the Papal throne; he was presented to the people as a man of profound theological knowledge, as a man of prudence, a lover of equity and justice, firm in adversity, temperate in prosperity; according to the Apostolic words, of good conversation; blameless, modest, sober, chaste, hospitable, one that ruleth his own house; a man well brought up in the bosom of his Mother Church, and advanced already for his distinguished merits to the dignity of Archdeacon. "This our Archdeacon then we choose, to be called henceforth and for ever by the name of Gregory, for our Pontiff, as the successor of the Apostle." He was immediately arrayed with the scarlet robe, crowned with the Papal tiara, and, reluctant and in tears, enthroned in the chair of St. Peter.

Hildebrand wept! Were they tears of pride and joy, or of humility and sadness, or of mingling and conflicting emotions? It was impossible but that his ambition, his conscious superiority, must long have contemplated this ultimate advancement; but even his firm mind, in its profound religious devotion, may have been shaken at this crisis in his life. The higher Hildebrand estimated the power of the Pope, the more awful the responsibility. According to his view the Pope stood alone on earth between God and man; the destinies of the human race, the temporal no less than the eternal destinies, which must depend on the issue of the imminent contest into which he was about to plunge, hung henceforward upon his acts and words. The monk was not entirely dead within him; to his monastic friends, especially to Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Casino, afterwards his successor, he imparts, with seeming sincerity, the struggle of mind with which he undertook the inevitable office.⁸

He commenced his reign with temper and prudence. The decree of Nicolas II. had acknowledged that, in the last instance, after the nomination of the Cardinals, the ratification by the clergy and by the people of Rome, the assent of the Emperor was necessary to complete the full legal title. Gregory despatched messengers to Germany to inform Henry IV. of his elevation, and to receive his assent. It is said that at the same time he warned the Emperor not to sanction his nomination; the warning was couched in words of prophetic minacity: "If I be indeed made Pope, I must no longer patiently endure your great and flagrant

⁸ April 24.

excesses." ^h But this is probably the language of later admirers of the great theocrat, who would at once invest him in all the terrors which he afterwards assumed. In the decree of Nicolas the assent of the Emperor had been reduced almost to a form; Gregory was a rigid and punctilious observer of forms, and it was most important that there should be no flaw whatever in his charter, no defect of which his enemies might avail themselves hereafter in his title. But by such language, thus more than usually offensive and contemptuous, Gregory himself raised the form into a reality. The words imputed to him absolutely submitted the validity of his election to the Emperor, and acknowledged the Emperor's power to cancel his promotion. It is utterly irreconcilable with his character, directly at issue with the lofty principles so soon, so firmly, and so haughtily maintained by Hildebrand, to suppose that if the Emperor had refused his assent he would quietly have descended from the Pontifical throne; it was either base hypocrisy, or a perfidious attempt to betray the Emperor at once into hostile proceedings. If it be true—if the address of Gregory was more severe than the ordinary parental admonitions which were wont to form part of the Papal addresses to sovereigns—if more than a grave or tender remonstrance against his personal conduct—Gregory must have been prepared to discharge his conscience with this deliberate defiance, with which he cancelled beforehand any claim upon his gratitude for the assent of the Emperor, and held himself at full

^h "Interminatusque si ejus electioni assensum præbuisset, nunquam ejus nequitiam patienter portaturum." — Bonizo, p. 811. "Ne assensum præberet, ipsum attentius exoravit.

Quod si non faceret certum sibi esset, quod graviores et manifestos ipsius excessus impunitos nullatenus toleraret." — Cardin. Arragon. in Vit.

liberty to appear as an open adversary of the Empire in defence of the loftiest pretensions of the Papacy. It was presuming, too, somewhat over boldly on the timidity and irresolution of the Emperor and his council. Hildebrand's character was too well known—it had been known for too many years—not to excite apprehensions of his ambitious views in Germany. 'He was an Italian—a Roman prelate. His austerity would alarm all who were either guilty or under the imputation of simoniacal or incontinent lives; he would have many adversaries even among the better, but not unambitious, German Prelates. Henry was in truth strongly urged to annul at once the election. "If he did not at once tame this violent man, on no one would the storm fall so heavily as on himself." Count Eberhard of Nellenberg was sent to Rome to demand of the Romans why they had presumed, contrary to ancient usage, to elect the Pope without previous consultation of the Emperor; if the answer was unsatisfactory, Eberhard was to insist on the abdication of Gregory.¹ But Count Eberhard was received with courteous deference by Gregory, who declared that he had not sought, but that the honour had been forced upon him by the clergy and the people. He had, however, deferred, and should defer, his inauguration until he had received the assent of the King. This skilful concession was accepted. Eberhard returned to Germany. Gregory Bishop of Vercelli, the Chancellor of Italy, was sent to Rome to signify the Imperial assent.² Hildebrand thus assumed the Pontifical power unembarrassed by a contested title.

¹ Lambert. Floto rejects this, but afterwards denied the fact, because Lambert could hardly have invented Eberhard's mission. The high Papalists, less politic than Hildebrand, ² Bonizo.

Yet the watchful Pope still took every opportunity of asserting indirectly the independence of the Papacy. His name of Gregory VII. was a declaration that Gregory VI., whose Pontificate had been annulled by the Imperial authority, was a legitimate Pope.

END OF VOL. III.

